I. EARLY SPEECHES, 1922-1924

Note

The early speeches delivered in Munich in the years 1922 and 1923 are of special interest since they form the background to *Mein Kampf* and illustrate the form in which National Socialist propaganda was first presented to the German people. Since none of these have been translated into English and would seem to have been but little studied, I have sought to give a representative selection of extracts in an English version.'

For the background of this section and for the study of *Mein Kampf,* a brief chronological outline of the early history of the Party may be of service.

The early days of the National Socialist Party

1918. 14 Oct. Hitler gassed near Montagne.

21 Oct.-13 Nov. Hitler in hospital at Pasewalk.

9 Nov. "The November Revolution." 1919. Until Mar. Hitler in camp at Traunstein.

6 Apr. Establishment of the *Räterepublik in* Munich. *Mein Kampf is* silent on Hitler's action during this period: the official annals record that on 27 Apr. Hitler "through personal bravery escapes imprisonment by the 'Red' guards".

2 May. The *Räterepublik* overthrown. Hitler acting under the orders of the Commission of Inquiry of the Second Infantry Regiment.

Hitler "political education officer" of the First Bavarian Schützenregiment in Munich and also speaks elsewhere, e.g. in Passau.

June. Hitler for the first time hears the engineer Gottfried Feder talk on "Loan Capital".

Sept. Hitler is commissioned to attend a meeting of the German Workers' Party in Sterneckerbräu at which Feder speaks. The Party originally founded on 5 Jan. 1919 by Karl Harrer and Anton Drexler. The poet Dietrich Eckart (born z3 Mar. 1868) offers his services to the Party (first lectured for the Party IS Aug. 1919). Since 7 Dec. 1918 Eckart had published the weekly paper *Auf gut deutsch* (directed against the "November criminals", the Jews, and "interest slavery") together with Feder and Alfred Rosenberg.

16 Sept. Hitler becomes a member of the German Workers' Party.

From 16 Oct. Hitler undertakes propaganda for the Party.

1920. 1 Jan. The first office acquired for the Party in the Sterneckerbräu. Rudolf Schüssler appointed as first business manager. (64 enrolled members.)

5 Jan. Harrer retires from Presidency and is succeeded by Drexler.

24 Feb. First Mass Meeting of the Party in the Festsaal of the Hofbräuhaus in Munich. Hitler explains the twenty-five Points of the Programme of the Party: the adoption of the Programme of the German Workers' Party. Emil Maurice forms a small *Ordnertruppe* — a body to suppress opposition at meetings.

1 Apr. Hitler leaves the army.

18 Apr. Formation in Rosenheim of the first *Ortsgruppe* — local group — of the Party outside Munich.

7-8 Aug. Meeting of National Socialist Parties in Salzburg. The Party changes its name to Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP).

Dec. The Party acquires the *Völkischer Beobachter.* It appears twice a week under the editorship of Hermann Esser.

1921. 21 Jan. Re-election of officers of the Party, which now numbers nearly 3,ooo members.

3 Feb. The first Mass Meeting in the Circus Krone.

29 July. After much disagreement within the Party, at an extraordinary general meeting Hitler overthrows Harrer: Drexler becomes Honorary President, Hitler becomes President with full powers. The Leader Principle of personal authority adopted: system of committees and majority voting abandoned.

1 Aug. Max Amann appointed business manager of the Party. 11 Aug. Dietrich Eckart becomes editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter* and discontinues his own paper *Auf gut deutsch.*

11 Oct. At Zwickau foundation of the first *Ortsgruppe* of the Party outside Bavaria.

1 Nov. Larger offices for the Party acquired at 12 Corneliusstrasse, Munich. Central Card Index of membership established.

4 Nov. The famous meeting of the Party in the Hofbräuhaus in Munich: the *Saalschlacht:* "the fight of the 46 members of the SA. against 800 Marxists". From this battle official introduction of the title *Sturmabteilungen.*

1922. 29-30 Jan. *Parteitag* and General Meeting of the members of the Party in Munich (representation of *Ortsgruppen):* some 6,000 registered members.

8 Mar. Hitler founds the *Jugendbund* — the Youth League — of the Party.

Apr. Amann undertakes the business management of the *Völkischer Beobachter.*

24 June-27 July. Hitler in prison for the violent breaking-up of a meeting of the *Bayernbund* of the engineer Ballerstedt.

14-15 Oct. The German Day in Coburg. The triumph of "naked force".

30 Nov. Five Mass Meetings of the Party in Munich.

13 Dec. Ten Mass Meetings of the Party in Munich.

1923. 11 Jan. French occupation of the Ruhr.

27-29 Jan. First *Reichsparteitag* of the NSDAP.
early Feb. Roehm brings about the union of the various national Fighting Associations under the military leadership of Hermann Kriebel.

8 Feb. The *Völkischer Beobachter* begins to appear daily.

10 Mar. Alfred Rosenberg becomes principal editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter.*

1 May. The armed march of the united Fighting Associations to the Oberwiesenfeld. (No account of this in *Mein Kampf:* cf. Otto Strasser, *Hitler et Moi,* Paris, Grasset, 1940, pp. 39-45.)

1-2 Sept. The "German Day" in Nuremberg: Formation of the German Fighting Alliance *(Kampfbund)*= NSDAP., *Reichsflagge* under Heiss, *Bund Oberland* under Weber.

25. Hitler political leader of the *Kampfbund.*

26 Sept. The Bavarian Government appoints von Kahr General State Commissar. "A State of Emergency" declared in Bavaria. van Kahr refuses to acknowledge the validity of the Law for the Protection of the Republic passed by the Reich Government after the murder of Rathenau.

19-20 Oct. Conflict between the Reich and Bavaria (continues until 15 Feb. 1924).
van Lossow appointed commander of the Bavarian forces.

7 Oct. The *Reichsflagge* separates from the *Kampfbund.*

11-12 Oct. Roehm forms the *Reichskriegsflagge* for Hitler.

8-9 Nov. The "Putsch".

1924. 26 Feb. The Trial of those concerned in the "Putsch" begins.

1 Apr. Hitler sentenced.

1 Apr. -20 Dec. Hitler in Landsberg in fortress detention. Hitler writes the first part of *Mein Kampf* (title as originally planned " Four and a half years Fight against Lying, Stupidity, and Cowardice"). This first part was published on I8 July 1925: the second part on 10 Dec. 1926.

In the printed editions of Hitler's speeches the first speech is that of 12 April 1922 at the time of the Conference held in Genoa: Hitler said that people had begun long since to doubt whether the formation of the German Republic represented an achievement or a collapse. After the War production had begun again and it was thought that better times were coming. Frederick the Great after the Seven Years War had as the result of superhuman efforts left Prussia without a penny of debt: at the end of the World War Germany was burdened with her own debt of some 7 or 8 milliards of marks and beyond that was faced with the debts of "the rest of the world" — "the so-called reparations". The product of Germany's work thus belonged not to the nation, but to her foreign creditors: "it was carried endlessly in trains for territories beyond our frontiers". Every worker had to support another worker, the product of whose labor was commandeered by the foreigner. "The German people after twenty-five or thirty years, in consequence of the fact that it will never be able to pay all that is demanded of it, will have so gigantic a sum still owing that practically it will be forced to produce more than it does to-day." What will the end be? and the answer to that question is "Pledging of our land, enslavement of our labor-strength. Therefore in the economic sphere November 1918 was in truth no achievement, but it was the beginning of our collapse." And in the political sphere we lost first our military prerogatives, and with that loss went the real sovereignty of our State, and then our financial independence, for there remained always the Reparations Commission so that "practically we have no longer a politically independent German Reich, we are already a colony of the outside world *(des Auslandes).'* We have contributed to this because so far as possible we humiliated ourselves morally, we positively destroyed our own honor and helped to befoul, to besmirch, and to deny everything which we previously held as sacred." If it be objected that the Revolution has won for us gains in social life: "they must be extraordinarily secret, these social gains — so secret that one never sees them in practical life — they must just run like a fluid through our German atmosphere. Some-one may say 'Well, there is the Eight-Hour Day!' And was a collapse necessary to gain that? And will the Eight-Hour Day be rendered any more secure through our becoming practically the bailiff and the drudge of the other peoples?" One of these days France will say: 'You cannot meet your obligations, you must work more.' "So this achievement of the Revolution is put in question first of all by the Revolution."

"Then someone has said: 'Since the Revolution the people has gained "Rights". The people governs'! Strange! The people has now been ruling three years and no one has in practice once asked its opinion. Treaties were signed which will hold us down for centuries: and who has signed the treaties? The people? No! Governments which one fine day presented themselves as Governments. And at their election the people had nothing to do save to consider the question: there they are already, whether I elect them or not. If we elect them, then they are there through our election. But since we are a self-governing people, we must elect the folk in order that they may be elected to govern us."

"Then it was said, 'Freedom has come to us through the Revolution'. Another of those things that one cannot see very easily! It is of course true that one can walk down the street, the individual can go into his workshop and he can go out again: here and there he can go to a meeting. In a word, the individual has liberties. But in general, if he is wise, he will keep his mouth shut. For if in former times extraordinary care was taken that no one should let slip anything which could be treated as *lese-majeste',* now a man must take much greater care that he doesn't say anything which might represent an insult to the majesty of a member of Parliament."

And if we ask who was responsible for our misfortune, then we must inquire who profited by our collapse. And the answer to that question is that "Banks and Stock Exchanges are more flourishing than ever before". We were told that capitalism would be destroyed, and when we ventured to remind one or other of these "famous statesmen" and said "Don't forget that Jews too have capital". then the answer was: "What are you worrying about? Capitalism as a whole will now be destroyed, the whole people will now be free. We are not fighting Jewish or Christian capitalism, we are fighting every capitalism: we are making the people completely free."

"Christian capitalism" is already as good as destroyed, the international Jewish Stock Exchange capital gains in proportion as the other loses ground. It is only the international Stock Exchange and loan-capital, the so-called "supra-state *(überstäatliche)* capital", which has profited from the collapse of our economic life, "the capital which receives its character from the single supra-state nation which is itself national to the core, which fancies itself to be above all other nations, which places itself above other nations and which already rules over them".

"The international Stock Exchange capital would be unthinkable, it would never have come, without its founders the supra-national, because intensely national, Jews."

The million workmen who were in Berlin in 1914 have remained what they were — they are workmen still, only thinner, worse clad, poor; but the 100,000 Jews from the East who entered Germany in the early years of the War — they arrived in poverty and they are now "made men" riding in their motor-cars: they have used the body of the people *(Volkskörper)* merely as a forcing-ground for their own prosperity. "The Jew has not grown poorer: he gradually gets bloated, and, if you don't believe me, I would ask you to go to one of our health-resorts; there you will find two sorts of visitors: the German who goes there, perhaps for the first time for a long while, to breathe a little fresh air and to recover his health, and the Jew who goes there to lose his fat. And if you go out to our mountains, whom do you find there in fine brand-new yellow boots with splendid rucksacks in which there is generally nothing that would really be of any use? And why are they there? They go up to the hotel, usually no farther than the train can take them: where the train stops, they stop too. And then they sit about somewhere within a mile from the hotel, like blow-flies round a corpse."

"These are not, you may be sure, our working classes: neither those working with the mind, nor with the body. With their worn clothes they leave the hotel on one side and go on climbing: they would not feel comfortable coming into this perfumed atmosphere in suits which date from 1913 or 1914. No, assuredly the Jew has suffered no privations!"

There were Jews who in politics took the side of the Right: they were there to see to it that people did not have their eyes opened for fear they should ruthlessly intervene and put an end with lightning rapidity to the entire pigsty. This was their only object for joining the Right; for the most part they acted as "leaders of the proletariat" for the working classes: in this capacity you might see "the millionaire, the typical representative of capitalist exploitation, in a culture of the utmost purity". "My dear fellow countrymen, no one can deny that with us, as in Russia, the Revolution was made, we may perhaps say, by a quite definite 'Confession'. It is remarkable, there are very few things in which one finds only Catholics or only Protestants. But here one did precisely find only adherents of one definite so-called 'Religious Society', and the most remarkable thing about it is that, as is well known, one can smell this religion, so that it is perfectly clear to anyone from externals alone. One can't tell if you meet a man whether he is a Catholic, a Protestant, a Baptist, or a Lutheran, but in this 'Religious Community' one can tell the faithful from afar. A marvelous 'Religion'."

The guilt of the Jews lies in the fact that they have "agitated" the masses into this November madness. When we look at the parties we see on the Left lying and deceit on the part of the leaders, blind faith on the part of the led and all alike in the service of a single aim: to destroy this State, to rob this people of its freedom, to enslave its

labor-strength. On the Right we see that the masses in part recognize the true position, but amongst the leaders there is limitless incapacity. There are but two alternatives: either "Remain quiet and become slaves", or Resistance. And if you decide for resistance who will lead you? "The Left? First: it does not wish to do so; and secondly, it cannot do so. For your leaders of the Left are still the same as those who scourged you into this misery (cries of 'Down with them, the traitors!' 'Hang them up!'). The same Jew who, whether as majority Socialist or Independent, led you then leads you still: whether as Independent or as Communist, whatever he calls himself, he is still the same. And just as then in the last resort it was not your interests which he championed, but the interests of capital which supported him, the interests of his race, so now he will never lead you in an attack on his race, an attack on capital. On the contrary he will prevent you from waging war against those who are really exploiting you: never, never will he help to liberate you, for he is not enslaved."

"While now in Soviet Russia the millions are ruined and are dying, Chicherin — and with him a staff of over 200 Soviet Jews — travels by express train through Europe, visits the cabarets, watches naked dancers perform for his pleasure, lives in the finest hotels, and does himself better than the millions whom once you thought you must fight as 'Bourgeois'. The 400 Soviet Commissars of Jewish nationality — they do not suffer, the thousands upon thousands of Sub-Commissars — they do not suffer. No! all the treasures which the 'Proletarian' in his madness took from the 'Bourgeoisie' in order to fight so-called capitalism — they have all gone into their hands. Once the worker appropriated the purse of the landed-proprietor who gave him work, he took the rings, the diamonds and rejoiced that he had now got the treasures which before only the 'Bourgeoisie' possessed. But in his hands they are dead things — they are veritable deathgold. They are no profit to him. He is banished into his wilderness and one cannot feed oneself on diamonds. For a morsel of bread he gives millions in objects of value. But the bread is in the hands of the State Central Organization and this is in the hands of the Jews: so everything, everything that the common man thought that he was winning for himself, flows back again to his seducers."

"And now, my dear fellow-countrymen, do you believe that these men, who with us are going the same way, will end the Revolution? They do not wish the end of the Revolution, for they do not need it. For them the Revolution is milk and honey."

"And further they cannot end the Revolution. For if one or another amongst the leaders were really not seducer but seduced, and today, driven by the inner voice of horror at his crime, were to step before the masses and make his declaration: 'We have all deceived ourselves: we believed that we could lead you out of misery, but we have in fact led you into a misery which your children and your children's children must still bear' — he cannot say that, he dare not say that, he would on the public square or in the public meeting be torn in pieces."

But amongst the masses there begins to flow a new stream — a stream of opposition. "It is the recognition of the facts which is already in pursuit of this system, it already is hunting the system down: it will one day scourge the masses into action and carry the masses along with it. And these leaders, they see that behind them the Anti-Semitic wave grows and grows: and when the masses once recognize the facts, that is the end of these leaders."

And thus the Left is forced more and more to turn to Bolshevism. "In Bolshevism they see today the sole, the last possibility of preserving the present state of affairs. They realize quite accurately that the people is beaten so long as Brain and Hand can be kept apart. For alone neither Brain nor Hand can really oppose them. So long therefore as the Socialist idea is coined only by men who see in it a means for disintegrating a nation, so long can they rest in peace."

"But it will be a sorry day for them when this Socialist idea is grasped by a Movement which unites it with the highest Nationalist pride, with Nationalist defiance, and thus places the Nation's Brain, its intellectual workers, on this ground. Then this system will break up, and there would remain only one single means of salvation for its supporters: viz. to bring the catastrophe upon us before their own ruin, to destroy the Nation's Brain, to bring it to the scaffold — to introduce Bolshevism."

"So the Left neither can nor will help. On the contrary, their first lie compels them constantly to resort to new lies. There remains then the Right. And this party of the Right meant well, but it cannot do what it would because up to the present time it has failed to recognize a whole series of elementary principles."

"In the first place the Right still fails to recognize the danger. These gentlemen still persist in believing that it is a question of being elected to a Landtag or of posts as ministers or secretaries. They think that the decision of a people's destiny would mean at worst nothing more than some damage to their so-called bourgeois-economic existence. They have never grasped the fact that this decision threatens their heads. They have never yet understood that it is not necessary to be an enemy of the Jew for him to drag you one day on the Russian model to the scaffold. They do not see that it is quite enough to have a head on your shoulders and *not to be a Jew:* that will secure the scaffold for you."

"In consequence their whole action to-day is so petty, so limited, so hesitating and pusillanimous. They would like to — but they can never decide on any great deed, because they fail to realize the greatness of the whole period."

"And then there is another fundamental error: they have never got it clear in their own minds that there is a difference or how great a difference there is between the conception 'National' and the word 'dynastic' or 'monarchistic'. They do not understand that today it is more than ever necessary in our thought as Nationalists to avoid anything which might perhaps cause the individual to think that the National Idea was identical with petty everyday political views. They ought day by day to din into the ears of the masses: 'We want to bury all the petty differences and to bring out into the light the big things, the things we have in common which bind us to one another. That should weld and fuse together those who have still a German heart and a love for their people in the fight against the common hereditary foe of all Aryans. How afterwards we divide up this State, friends — we have no wish to dispute over that! The form of a State results from the essential character of a people, results from necessities which are so elementary and powerful that in time every individual will realize them without any disputation when once all Germany is united and free'."

"And finally they all fail to understand that we must on principle free ourselves from any class standpoint. It is of course very easy to call out to those on the Left, 'You must not be Proletarians, leave your class-madness', while you yourselves continue to call yourself 'Bourgeois' *(Bürger).* They should learn that in a single State there is only one supreme Citizen-right *(Bürgerrecht),* one supreme Citizen-honor *(Bürgerehre),* and that is the right and the honor of honest work. They should further learn that the social idea must be the essential foundation for any State, otherwise no State can permanently endure."

"Certainly a Government needs power, it needs strength. It must, I might almost say, with brutal ruthlessness press through the ideas which it has recognized to be right, trusting to the actual authority of its strength in the State. But even with the most ruthless brutality it can ultimately prevail only if what it seeks to restore does truly correspond to the welfare of a whole people."

"That the so-called enlightened absolutism of a Frederick the Great was possible depended solely on the fact that, though this man could undoubtedly have decided 'arbitrarily' the destiny — for good or ill — of his so-called 'subjects', he did not do so, but made his decisions influenced and supported by one thought alone, the welfare of his Prussian people. It was this fact only that led the people to tolerate willingly, nay joyfully, the dictatorship of the great king."

"And the Right has further completely forgotten that Democracy is fundamentally not German: it is Jewish. I It has completely forgotten that this Jewish democracy with its majority decisions has always been without exception only a means towards the destruction of any existing Aryan leadership. The Right does not understand that directly every small question of profit or loss is regularly put before so-called 'public opinion', he who knows how most skillfully to make this 'public opinion' serve his own interests becomes forthwith master in the State. And that can be achieved by the man who can lie most artfully, 'most infamously: and in the last resort he is not the German, he is, in Schopenhauer's words, 'the greet master in the art of lying' — the Jew."

"And finally it has been forgotten that the condition which must precede every act is the will and the courage to speak the truth — and that we do not see today either in the Right or in the Left."

"There are only two possibilities in Germany: do not imagine that the people will for ever go with the middle party, the party of compromises: one day it will turn to those who have most consistently foretold the coming ruin and have sought to dissociate themselves from it. And that party is either the Left: and then God help us! for it will

lead us to complete destruction — to Bolshevism, or else it is a party of the Right which at the last, when the people is in utter despair, when it has lost all its spirit and has no longer any faith in anything, is determined for its part ruthlessly to seize the reins of power—that is the beginning of resistance of which I spoke a few minutes ago. Here, too, there can be no compromise: . . . there are only two possibilities: either victory of the Aryan or annihilation of the Aryan and the victory of the Jew."

"It is from the recognition of this fact, from recognizing it, I would say, in utter, dead earnestness, that there resulted the formation of our Movement. There are two principles which, when we founded the Movement, we engraved upon our hearts: firstly, to base it on the most sober recognition of the facts and secondly to proclaim these facts with the most ruthless sincerity."

"And this recognition of the facts discloses at once a whole series of the most important fundamental principles which must guide this young Movement which, we hope, is destined one day for greatness":

"1. 'National' and 'social' are two identical conceptions. It was only the Jew who succeeded, through falsifying the social idea and turning it into Marxism, not only in divorcing the social idea from the national, but in actually representing them as utterly contradictory. That aim he has in fact achieved. At the founding of this Movement we formed the decision that we would give expression to this idea of ours of the identity of the two conceptions: despite all warnings, on the basis of what we had come to believe, on the basis of the sincerity of our will, we christened it 'National Socialist'. We said to ourselves that to be 'national' means above everything to act with a boundless and all-embracing love for the people and, if necessary, even to die for it. And similarly to tee 'social' means so to build up the State and the community of the people that every individual acts in the interest of the community of the people and must be to such an extent convinced of the goodness, of the honorable straightforwardness of this community of the people as to be ready to die for it."

"2. And then we said to ourselves: there are no such things as classes: they cannot be. Class means caste and caste means race. If there are castes in India, well and good; there it is possible, for there there were formerly Aryans and dark aborigines. So it was in Egypt and in Rome. But with us in Germany where everyone who is a German at all has the same blood, has the same eyes and speaks the same language, here there can be no class, here there can be only a single people and beyond that nothing else. Certainly we recognize, just as anyone must recognize, that there are different 'occupations' and 'professions' *(Stände)* — there is the *Stand* of the watchmakers, the *Stand* of the navvies, the *Stand* of the painters or technicians, the *Stand* of the engineers, officials, &c. *Stände* there can be. But in the struggles which these *Stände* have amongst themselves for the equalization of their economic conditions the conflict and the division must never be so great as to sunder the ties of race."

"And if you say 'But there must after all be a difference between the honest creators and those who do nothing at all'—certainly there must! That is the difference which lies in the performance of the conscientious work of the individual. Work must be the great connecting link, but at the same time the great factor which separates one man from another. The drone is the foe of us all. But the creators—it matters not whether they are brain-workers or workers witch the hand—they are the nobility of our State, they are the German people!"

"We understand under the term 'work' exclusively that activity which not only profits the individual but in no way harms the community, nay rather which contributes to form the community."

"3. And in the third place it was clear to us that this particular view is based on an impulse which springs from our race and from our blood. We said to ourselves that race differs from race and, further, that each race in accordance with its fundamental demands shows externally certain specific tendencies, and these tendencies can perhaps be most clearly traced in their relation to the conception of work. The Aryan regards work as the foundation for the maintenance of the community of the people amongst its members, the Jew regards work as the means to the exploitation of other peoples. The Jew never works as a productive creator without the great aim of becoming the master. He works unproductively, using and enjoying other people's work.' And thus we understand the iron sentence which Mommsen once uttered: 'The Jew is the ferment of decomposition in peoples', that means that the Jew destroys and must destroy because he completely lacks the conception of an activity which builds up the life of the community. And therefore it is beside the point whether the individual Jew is 'decent' or not. In himself he carries those characteristics which Nature has given him, and he cannot ever rid himself of those characteristics.

And to us he is harmful. Whether he harms us consciously or unconsciously, that is not our affair. We have consciously to concern ourselves for the welfare of our own people."

"4. And fourthly we were further persuaded that economic prosperity is inseparable from political freedom and that therefore that house of lies, 'Internationalism', must immediately collapse. We recognized that freedom can eternally be only a consequence of power and that the source of power is the will. Consequently the will to power must be strengthened in a people with passionate ardor. And thus we realized fifthly that"

"5. We as National Socialists and members of the German Workers Party — a Party pledged to work — must be on principle the most fanatical Nationalists. We realized that the State can be for our people a paradise only if the people can hold sway therein freely as in a paradise: we realized that a Slave-State will never be a paradise, but only — always and for all time — a hell or a colony."

"6. And then sixthly we grasped the fact that power in the last resort is possible only where there is strength, and that strength lies not in the dead weight of numbers but solely in energy. Even the smallest minority can achieve a mighty result if it is inspired by the most fiery, the most passionate will to act. World-history has always been made by minorities. And lastly"

"7. If one has realized a truth, that truth is valueless so long as there is lacking the indomitable will to turn this realization into action!"

"These were the foundations of our Movement — the truths on which it was based and which demonstrated its necessity."

"For three years we have sought to realize these fundamental ideas. And of course a fight is and remains a fight. Stroking in very truth will not carry one far. Today the German people has been beaten by a quite other world, while in its domestic life it has lost all spirit; no longer has it any faith. But how will you give this people once more firm ground beneath its feet save by the passionate insistence on one definite, great, clear goal?"

"Thus we were the first to declare that this Peace Treaty was a crime. Then folk abused us as 'agitators'. We were the first to protest against the failure to present this Treaty to the people before it was signed. Again we were called 'agitators'. We were the first to summon men to resistance against being reduced to a continuing state of defenselessness. Once more we were 'agitators'. At that time we called on the masses of the people not to surrender their arms, for the surrender of one's arms would be nothing less than the beginning of enslavement. We were called, no, we were cried down as, 'agitators'. We were the first to say that this meant the loss of Upper Silesia. So it was, and still they called us 'agitators'. We declared at that time that compliance in the question of Upper Silesia must have as its consequence the awakening of a passionate greed which would demand the occupation of the Ruhr. We were cried down ceaselessly, again and again. And because we opposed the mad financial policy which to-day will lead to our collapse, what was it that we were called repeatedly once more? 'Agitators'. And to-day?"

"And finally we were also the first to point the people on any large scale to a danger which insinuated itself into our midst — a danger which millions failed to realize and which will none the less lead us all into ruin — the Jewish danger. And to-day people are saying yet again that we were 'agitators'."

"I would like here to appeal to a greater than I, Count Lerchenfeld. He said in the last session of the Landtag that his feeling 'as a man and a Christian' prevented him from being an Anti-Semite. I say: my feeling as a Christian points me to my Lord and Savior as a fighter. It points me to the man who once in loneliness, surrounded only by a few followers, recognized these Jews for what they were and summoned men to the fight against them and who, God's truth! was greatest not as sufferer but as fighter. In boundless love as a Christian and as a man I read through the passage which tells us how the Lord at last rose in His might and seized the scourge to drive out of the Temple the brood of vipers and of adders. How terrific was His fight for the world against the Jewish poison today, after two thousand years, with deepest emotion I recognize more profoundly than ever before in the fact that it was for this that He had to shed His blood upon the Cross. As a Christian I have no duty to allow myself to be cheated, but I have the duty to be a fighter for truth and justice. And as a man I have the duty to see to it that human society does not suffer the same catastrophic collapse as did the civilization of the ancient world some two thousand years ago — a civilization which was driven to its ruin through this same Jewish people."

"Then indeed when Rome collapsed there were endless streams of new German bands flowing into the Empire from the North; but, if Germany collapses today, who is there to come after us? German blood upon this earth is on the way to gradual exhaustion unless we pull ourselves together and make ourselves free!"

"And if there is anything which could demonstrate that we are acting rightly it is the distress which daily grows. For as a Christian I have also a duty to my own people. And when I look on my people I see it work and work and toil and labor, and at the end of the week it has only for its wage wretchedness and misery. When I go out in the morning and see these men standing in their queues and look into their pinched faces, then I believe I would be no Christian, but a very devil if I felt no pity for them, if I did not, as did our Lord two thousand years ago, turn against those by whom to-day this poor people is plundered and exploited."

"And through the distress there is no doubt that the people has been aroused. Externally perhaps apathetic, but within there is ferment. And many may say, 'It is an accursed crime to stir up passions in the people'. And then I say to myself: Passion is already stirred through the rising tide of distress, and one day this passion will break out in one way or another: and now I would ask those who to-day call us 'agitators': 'What then have you to give to the people as a faith to which it might cling ?'"

"Nothing at all, for you yourselves have no faith in your own prescriptions."

"That is the mightiest thing which our Movement must create: for these widespread, seeking, and straying masses a new Faith which will not fail them in this hour of confusion, to which they can pledge themselves, on which they can build so that they may at least find once again a place which may bring calm to their hearts.'"

After the murder of Rathenau Hitler was imprisoned for four weeks.

On 28, July 1922 *he spoke on* "Free State or Slavery". Everywhere — in Russia, in Italy, in France, and in England — he saw a vast battle in progress between the ideals of the Nationalists and those of the supra-State International. "It is a battle which began nearly 120 years ago, at the moment when the Jew was granted citizen rights in the European States. The political emancipation of the Jews was the beginning of en attack of delirium. For thereby there were given full citizen rights and equality to a people which was much more clearly and definitely a race apart than all others, that has always formed and will form a State within the State. That did not happen perhaps at one blow, but it came about as things come about today and always do come about: first a little finger, then a second and a third, and so bit by bit until at last a people that in the eighteenth century still appeared completely alien had won equal citizen-rights with ourselves."

"And it was precisely the same in the economic sphere. The vast process of the industrialization of the peoples meant the confluence of great masses of workmen in the towns. Thus great hordes of people arose, and these, more's the pity, were not properly dealt with by those whose moral duty it was to concern themselves for their welfare. Parallel with this was a gradual 'moneyfication' of the whole of the nation's labor-strength. 'Share capital' was in the ascendant, and thus bit by bit the Stock Exchange came to control the whole national economy. The directors of these institutions were, and are without exception, Jews. I say "without exception", for the few non-Jews who had a share in them are in the last resort nothing but screens, shop-window Christians, whom one needs in order, for the sake of the masses, to keep up the appearance that these institutions were after all founded as a natural outcome of the needs and the economic life of all peoples alike, and were not, as was the fact, institutions which correspond only with the essential characteristics of the Jewish people and are the outcome of those characteristics."

"Then Europe stood at the parting of the ways. Europe began to divide into two halves, into west Europe and Central and Eastern Europe. At first Western Europe took the lead in the process of industrialization. Especially in England crowds of farm laborers, sons of farmers, or even ruined farmers themselves streamed into the towns and there formed a new fourth estate *(Stand).* But here one fact is of more importance than we are accustomed to admit: this England, like France, had relatively few Jews. And the consequence of that was that the great masses, concentrated in the towns, did not come into immediate contact with this alien nation, and thus feelings of aversion which must otherwise necessarily have arisen did not find sufficient nourishment for their development. In the end the fifty or sixty thousand Jews in England — there was hardly that number in England then —with supreme ease were able so to 'Europeanize' themselves that they remained hidden from the primitive eye of the ordinary member

of the public and as 'Captains of Industry', and especially as representatives of capital on a large scale, they could appear no longer as foreigners but themselves became Englishmen. This accounts for the fact that Anti-Semitism in these States could never attain to any native vigor; for the same is true of France. And precisely for this reason in these countries it was possible to introduce the system which we have to represent to ourselves under the concept of 'Democracy'. There it was possible to create a State-form whose meaning could only be the mastery of the herd over the intelligentsia, the mastery over true energy through the dead weight of massed numbers. In other words: it must be supremely easy for the Jewish intelligentsia, small in numbers and therefore completely hidden in the body of the British people, so to work upon the masses that the latter, quite unconscious of whom they were obeying, in the end did but serve the purposes of this small stratum of society. Through the Press propaganda, through the use of the organs of information, it was possible in England to found the great model parties. Already in those early days they saw to it shrewdly that there were always two or three groups apparently hostile to each other, but in fact all hanging on a gold thread, the whole designed to take account of a human characteristic—that the longer a man possesses an object, the more readily he grows tired of it. He craves something new: therefore one needs two parties. The one is in office, the other in opposition. When the one has played itself out, then the Opposition party comes into power, and the party which has had its day is now in its turn the Opposition. After twenty years the new party itself has once more played itself out and the game begins afresh. In truth this is a highly ingenious mill in which the interests of a nation are ground very small. As everyone knows, this system is given some such name as 'Self-Government of a People'."

"Besides this we always find two great catchwords, 'Freedom' and 'Democracy', used, I might say, as signboards. 'Freedom': under that term is understood, at least amongst those in authority who in fact carry on the Government, the possibility of an unchecked plundering of the masses of the people to which no resistance can be offered. The masses themselves naturally believe that under the term 'freedom' they possess the right to a quite peculiar freedom of motion—freedom to move the tongue and to say what they choose, freedom to move about the streets &c. A bitter deception!"

"And the same is true of democracy. In general even in the early days both England and France had already been bound with the fetters of slavery. With, I might say, a brazen security these States are fettered with Jewish chains."

Hitler then turned to consider the position in Central and Eastern Europe. Here industrialization proceeded more slowly: the stream of immigration into the towns was not so rapid; it took longer for the new centers of industry to develop and for the formation of a fourth estate. But here, both in Eastern Europe and in Germany, the Jews were more numerous and the masses were thus brought into continuous contact with them, and thus throughout the whole people, but especially amongst the peasantry, the workmen, and the lower middle classes, the Jew was regarded with an instinctive and profound aversion. On the other hand, the aristocracy and a section of the trading class for which money was everything were very early infected by Jewish influence.

In consequence of this widespread aversion it was more difficult for the Jew to spread infection in the political sphere, and especially so since traditionally loyalty was centered in a person: the form of the State was a monarchy, and power did not lie with an irresponsible majority. Thus the Jew saw that here it was possible for an enlightened despotism to arise based upon the army, the bureaucracy, and the masses of the people still unaffected by the Jewish poison. The intelligentsia at that time was almost exclusively German, big business and the new industries were in German hands, while the last reservoir of a people's strength, the peasantry, was throughout healthy. In such conditions if, as industry grew, a fourth estate was formed in the towns, there was the danger that this fourth estate might ally itself with the monarchy, and thus with its support there might arise a popular monarchy *(Volkskönig)* or a popular "Kaisertum" which would be ready and willing to give a mortal blow to those powers of international supra-State finance which were at that time beginning to grow in influence. This was not impossible: in the history of Germany princes had from time to time found themselves forced, as in Brandenburg, to turn against the nobility and seek popular support. "What was the great fight of the Hohenzollerns if it was not a fight to break down the privileged position of headstrong members of the nobility in order to incorporate them into the State and, cost what it might, to force them to take their place within the new order?"

But this possibility constituted a grave danger for Jewry. If the great masses of the new industrialized workmen "had come into Nationalist hands and like a true social leaven had penetrated the whole nation, if the liberation of the different estates *(Stände)* had followed step by step in an organic development and the State had later looked to them for support, then there would have been created what many hoped for in November 1918, viz. a national social

State. For Socialism in itself is anything but an international creation. As a noble conception it has indeed grown up exclusively in Aryan hearts: it owes its intellectual glories only to Aryan brains. It is entirely alien to the Jew. The Jew will always be the born champion of private capital in its worst form, that of unchecked exploitation.... Voltaire, as well as Rousseau, together with our German Fichte and many another — they are all without exception united in their recognition that the Jew is not only a foreign element differing in his essential character, which is utterly harmful to the nature of the Aryan, but that the Jewish people in itself stands against us as our deadly foe and so will stand against us always and for all time."

The master-stroke of the Jew was to claim the leadership of the fourth estate: he founded the Movement both of the Social Democrats and the Communists. His policy was twofold: he had his "apostles" in both political camps. Amongst the parties of the Right he encouraged those features which were most repugnant to the people — the passion for money, unscrupulous methods in trade which were employed so ruthlessly as to give rise to the proverb "Business, too, marches over corpses". And the Jew attacked the parties of the Right through the blood of their members: systematically he bastardized them. More and more Jews wormed their way into the families of the upper classes: it was from the Jews that the latter took their wives. "The result was that in a short time it was precisely the ruling class *(Schicht)* which became in its character completely estranged from its own people."

And this fact gave the Jew his opportunity with the parties of the Left. Here he played the part of the common demagogue. Two means enabled him to drive away in disgust the whole intelligentsia of the nation from the leadership of the workers. First: his international attitude, "for the native intelligence of the country is prepared to make sacrifices, it will do anything for the life of the people, but it cannot believe in the mad view that through the denial of that national life, through a refusal to defend the rights of one's own people, through the breaking down of the national resistance to the foreigner, it is possible to raise up a people and make it happy. That it cannot do, and so it remained at a distance. And the Jew's second instrument was the Marxist theory in and for itself. For directly one went on to assert that property as such is theft, directly one deserted the obvious formula that only the natural wealth of a country can and should be common property, but that which a man creates or gains through his honest labor is his own, immediately the economic intelligentsia with its Nationalist outlook could, here too, no longer co-operate: for this intelligentsia was bound to say to itself that this theory meant the collapse of any human civilization whatever., Thus the Jew succeeded in isolating this new movement of the workers from all the Nationalist elements. And further, through an ingenious exploitation of the influence of the Press, the Jew was able so to influence the masses that he persuaded those of the Right that the faults of the Left were the faults of the German workman, and similarly he made it appear to those of the Left that the faults of the Right were simply the faults of the so-called 'Bourgeois', and neither side noticed that on both sides the faults were the result of a scheme planned by alien, devilish agitators. And only so is it possible to explain how this dirty joke of world-history could come to be that Stock Exchange Jews should become the leaders of a Workers' Movement. It is a gigantic fraud: world-history has seldom seen its like."

"And then we must ask ourselves: what are the final aims of this development ?"

So soon as millions of men have had it hammered into them that they are so oppressed and enslaved that it matters not what their personal attitude may be to their people, their State, or economic life, then a kind of passive resistance must result which sooner or later will do fatal damage to the national economy. Through the preaching of the Marxist economic theory the national economy must go to ruin. We see the results in Russia: the end of the whole economic life of the State: the handing over of the community to the international world of finance. And the process is furthered through the organization of the "political strike". Often there are no adequate economic grounds for a strike, but there are always political grounds and plenty of them. And to this must be added the practical political sabotage of the State, since the thought of the individual is concentrated on the idea of international solidarity. It is clear that a nation's economic life depends upon the strength of a national State: it does not live on such phrases as "Appeasement of the Peoples" or "Freedom of the Peoples". "At the moment when no people supports the economic life of a nation, ready to give it its protection, at that moment economic life collapses. The breaking in pieces of a nation's strength is the end of a nation's prosperity, the national existence must cease altogether."

And one can see constantly how wonderfully the Stock Exchange Jew and the leader of the workers, how the Stock Exchange organ and the journal of the workers, co-operate. They both pursue one common policy and a single aim. Moses Kohn on the one side encourages his association to refuse the workers' demands, while his brother Isaac

in the factory incites the masses and shouts, 'Look at them! they only want to oppress you! Shake off your fetters....' His brother takes care that the fetters are well and truly forged. The Stock Exchange organ seeks without intermission to encourage fevered speculation and unparalleled corners in grain and in the food of the people, while the workmen's newspaper lets off all its guns on the masses, telling them that bread is dearer and this, that, and the other is dearer: up Proletarians! endure it no longer — down with . . . (a *gesture showed that Hitler referred to the Jews).*

Hove long can this process last? It means the utter destruction not only of economic life, but of the people. It is clear that all these apostles who talk their tongues out of their heads, but who spend the night in the Hotel Excelsior, travel in express trains, and spend their leave for their health in Nice—these people do not exert their energies for love of the people. No, the people is not to profit, it shall merely be brought into dependence on these men. The backbone of its independence, its own economic life, is to be destroyed, that it may the more surely relapse into the golden fetters of the perpetual interest-slavery of the Jewish race. And this process will end when suddenly out of the masses someone arises who seizes the leadership, finds other comrades, and fans into flame the passions which have been held in check and looses them against the deceivers. "That is the lurking danger, and the Jew can meet it in one way only — by destroying the hostile national intelligentsia. That is the inevitable ultimate goal of the Jew in his revolution. And this aim he must pursue; he knows well enough his economics brings no blessing: his is no master-people: he is an exploiter: the Jews are a people of robbers. He has never founded any civilization, though he has destroyed civilizations by the hundred. He possesses nothing of his own creation to which he can point. Everything that he has is stolen. Foreign peoples, foreign workmen build him his temples, it is foreigners who create and work for him: it is foreigners who shed their blood for him. He knows no 'people's army': he has only hired mercenaries who are ready to go to death on his behalf. He has no art of his own: bit by bit he has stolen it all from the other peoples or has watched them at work and then made his copy. He does not even know how merely to preserve the precious things which others have created: as he turns the treasures over in his hand they are transformed into dirt and dung. He knows that he cannot maintain any State for long. That is one of the differences between him and the Aryan. True, the Aryan also has dominated other peoples. But how? He entered on the land, he cleared the forests; out of wildernesses he has created civilizations, and he has not used the others for his own interests, he has, so far as their capacities permitted, incorporated them into his State and through him art and science were brought to flower. In the last resort it was the Aryan and the Aryan alone who could form States and could set them on their path to future greatness."

"All that the Jew cannot do. And because he cannot do it, therefore all his revolutions must be 'international'. They must spread as a pestilence spreads. He can build no State and say 'See here! Here stands the State, a model for all. Now copy us!' He must take care that the plague does not die, that it is not limited to one place, or else in a short time this plague-hearth would burn itself out. So he is forced to bring every mortal thing to an international expansion. For how long? Until the whole world sinks in ruins and brings him down with it in the midst of the ruins."

"That process today in Russia is practically complete. The whole of present-day Russia has nothing to show beyond a ruined civilization, a colony ripe for development through alien capital, and even this capital in order to supply resources in labor for its practical work must introduce Aryan intellects, since for this again the Jew is useless. Here, too, he is all rapacity, never satisfied. He knows no ordered economy, he knows no ordered body of administrators. Over there in Russia he is laying his hands on everything. They take the noble's diamonds to help 'the People'. The diamonds then stray into foreign societies and are no more seen. He seizes to himself the treasures of the churches, but not to feed the people: oh no! Everything wanders away and leaves not a trace behind. In his greed he has become quite senseless: he can keep hold of nothing: he has only within him the instinct for destruction, and so he himself collapses with the treasure that he has destroyed."

It is a tragic fate: we have often grown excited over the death of a criminal: if an anarchist is shot in Spain we raise a mighty howl over "the sacrifice of valuable human blood . . ., and here in the East thirty million human beings are being slowly martyred—done to death, some on the scaffold, some by machine guns . . . millions upon millions through starvation.... A whole people is dying, and now we can perhaps understand how it was possible that formerly all the civilizations of Mesopotamia disappeared without a trace so that one can only with difficulty find in the desert sand the remains of these cities. We see how in our own day whole countries die out under this scourge of God, and we see how this scourge is threatening Germany, too, and how with us our own people in mad infatuation is contributing to bring upon itself the same yoke, the same misery."

"We know that this Revolution which began in 1918 has covered perhaps but the first third of its course. Two things, however, there are which must scourge it forward upon its way: economic causes and political causes." On the economic side, the ever-growing distress, and in the political sphere, "are not nearly all Germans in their hearts —let each one admit it—in despair when they consider the situation which leaves us quite defenseless in face of a Europe which is so hostile to Germany? And why is Europe hostile? We see how over there in this other Europe it is not the peoples which agitate against us, it is the secret power of the organized Press which ceaselessly pours new poison into the hearts of these peoples."

"And who are then these bandits of the Press? The brothers and the relatives of the publishers of our own newspapers. And the capital source which provides the energy which here — and there — drives them forward is the Jewish dream of World Supremacy."

Today the idea of international solidarity has lost its force: one can still bring men out of the factories, but only by means of terrorism. If you ask for an honest answer the worker will confess that he no longer believes in this international solidarity. And the belief in the so-called reasonableness of the other peoples has gone too. "How often have we been told that reason will lead them not to be too hard with us: true, reason should have moved them thus, but what did move them had nothing to do with reason. For here there is no question of the thought of reasonable peoples: it is the thought of a wild beast, tearing, raging in its unreason, that drives all of them to the same ruin as that to which we ourselves are driven."

"So the masses of the people in Germany are becoming, in the political sphere, completely lost. Yet here and there people are beginning to get some practice in criticism. Slowly, cautiously, and yet with a certain accuracy the finger is being placed on the real wound of our people. And thus one comes to realize: if only this development goes on for a time, it might be possible that from Germany the light should come which is destined to light both Germany and the world to their salvation. And at that point the everlasting lie begins to work against us with every means in its power."

But who really are the people who are the foes of this Republic? Is it those who do not wish this people to dishonor itself utterly in the eyes of foreign countries? Is it those who desire to do away with corruption, who wish that the German shall not befoul the few great men in German history on whose model he might reform himself? — "is it, in a word, those who wish that this German Republic should be a German State and not a colony of foreign Jewry and of the world's Stock Exchange? Is it not these criminals, this Jewry, who are the real foes of the Republic, these men who from the day of its birth burdened it with the lie that this people was guilty of the World War? And have they not undermined the Republic who thereby gave to the foreign Powers those spiritual arms with which these Powers for the last three years shower blows upon us and oppress us and say to us 'You deserve it, for you yourselves have confessed your guilt!' And have not they opposed the Republic who have so reduced all power of resistance that today every Hottentot State is in a position to lord it over Germany? And do they not ceaselessly oppose Germany who have brought us, once the people of honor, so low that we have a reputation for the meanest economic corruption and the most debased political outlook?"

"It is said, if one criticizes the state of affairs to which we have been brought today, that one is a reactionary, a Monarchist, a Pan-German. I ask you what would probably have been the state of Germany to-day if during these three years there had been no criticism at all? I believe that in fact there has been far, far too little criticism. Our people unfortunately is much too uncritical, or otherwise it would long ago have not only seen through many things, but would have swept them away with its fist! The crisis is developing towards its culmination. The day is not far distant when, for the reasons which I have stated, the German Revolution must be carried forward another step. The leaders know all too well that things cannot always go on as they are going to-day. One may raise prices ten times by TOO per cent., but it is doubtful if in the end even a German will accept a milliard of marks for his day's wage if in the last resort with his milliard-wage he must still starve.

It is a question whether one will be able to keep up this great fraud upon the nation. There will come a day when this must stop—and therefore one must build for that day, before it comes."

"And so now Germany is reaching that stage which Russia has drunk to the lees. Now in one last stupendous assault they will finally crush all criticism, all opposition, no, rather whatever honesty is still left to us, and that they

will do the more rapidly the more clearly they see that the masses are beginning to understand one thing-— National Socialist teaching."

"Whether for the moment it comes to them under that name or under another, the fact is that everywhere more and more it is making headway. To-day all these folk cannot yet belong to a single party, but, wherever you go, in Germany, yes almost in the whole world, you find already millions of thinking men who know that a State can be built only on a social foundation and they know also that the deadly foe of every social conception is the international Jew."

"Every truly national idea is in the last resort social, i.e. he who is prepared so completely to adopt the cause of his people that he really knows no higher ideal than the prosperity of this—his own—people, he who has so taken to heart the meaning of our great song 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles', that nothing in this world stands for him higher than this Germany, people and land, land and people, he is a Socialist! And he who in this people sympathizes with the poorest of its citizens, who in this people sees in every individual a valuable member of the whole community, and who recognizes that this community can flourish only when it is formed not of rulers and oppressed but when all according to their capacities fulfill their duty to their Fatherland and the community of the people and are valued accordingly, he who seeks to preserve the native vigor, the strength, and the youthful energy of the millions of working men, and who above all is concerned that our precious possession, our youth, should not before its time be used up in unhealthy, harmful work — he is not merely a Socialist, but he is also National in the highest sense of that word."

"It is the teaching of these facts which appears to the Jews as leaders of the Revolution today to constitute a threatening danger. And it is precisely this which more than anything else makes the Jew wish to get in his blow as soon as possible. For one thing he knows quite well: in the last resort there is only one danger which he has to fear — and that danger is this young Movement."

"He knows the old parties. They are easily satisfied. Only endow them with a few seats as ministers or with similar posts and they are ready to go along with you. And in especial he knows one thing: they are so innocently stupid. In their case the truth of the old saying is proved afresh every day: 'Those whom the gods wish to destroy, they first strike with blindness.' They have been struck with blindness: therefore it follows that the gods wish to destroy them. Only look at these parties and their leaders, Stresemann and the rest of them. They are indeed not dangerous. They never go to the roots of the evil: they all still think that with forbearance, with humanity, with accommodation they can fight a battle which has not its equal in this world. Through gentleness they think that they must demonstrate to the enemy of the Left that they are ready for appeasement so as to stay the deadly cancerous ulcer through a policy of moderation."

"What today is the meaning of these great preparations for the decisive battle on the part of Bolshevist Judaism ? —"

"To make the nation defenseless in arms and to make the people defenseless in spirit."

"Two great aims!"

"Abroad Germany is already humiliated. The State trembles before every French Negro-captain, the nation is no longer dangerous. And within Germany they have seen to it that arms should be taken away from the decent elements of the people and that in their stead Russian-Jewish-Bolshevist bands should be armed. Only one thing remains still to do: viz. the muzzling of the spirit, above all the arrest of the evil 'agitators' — that is the name they give to those who dare to tell the people the truth. Not only are their organizations to be known to all, but the masses are to be incited against their persons. Just as the Jew could once incite the mob of Jerusalem against Christ, so today he must succeed in inciting folk who have been duped into madness to attack those who, God's truth! seek to deal with this people in utter honesty and sincerity. And so he begins to intimidate them, and he knows that this pressure in itself is enough to shut the mouths of hundreds, yes, of thousands. For they think, if I only hold my tongue, then I shall be safe in case they come into power. No, my friend. The only difference will be that I may hang perhaps still talking, while you will hang — in silence. Here, too, Russia can give us countless examples, and with us it will be the same story."

"We know that the so-called 'Law for the Protection of the Republic' *(Schutzgeset~)* which comes from Berlin today is nothing else than a means for reducing all criticism to silence. We know, too, that no effort will be spared so that the last outstanding personalities *(Köpfe)* those who within Germany foresee the coming of disaster — shall in good time — disappear. And to that end the population of North Germany will be scourged into opposition to Bavaria with every lie and every misrepresentation that comes to hand. Up there they have the feeling that in one corner of the Reich the spirit of the German people is not yet broken. And that is the point to which we National Socialists have to grapple ourselves. We National Socialists are, God's truth! perhaps the most loyal, the most devoted of all men to our German Fatherland. For three years we have waged a war, often against death and devil, but always only for our German Fatherland. We got so far that at the last, as crown of all our labors, we had to land in prison. But in spite of everything there is one thing we would say: We do make a distinction between a Government and the German Fatherland. When today here in the Landtag or in the Reichstag at Berlin some lousy half-Asiatic youth casts in our teeth the charge that we have no loyalty to the Reich, I beg you do not distress yourselves. The Bavarian people has sealed its loyalty to the Reich with its countless regiments which fought for the Reich and often sank under the earth two or three times. We are convinced, and that in the last resort is our one great faith, that out of this bitterest distress and this utter misery the German Reich will rise again, but not as now, not as the offspring of wretchedness and misery — we shall possess once again a true German Reich of freedom and of honor, a real Fatherland of the whole German people and not an asylum for alien swindlers. There is today constant talk about 'Federalism', &c. I beg you not to abuse the Prussians while at the same time you grovel before the Jews, but show yourselves stiff-necked against the folk of Berlin. And if you do that, then you will have on your side in the whole of Germany millions and millions of Germans, whether they be Prussians or men of Baden, Württembergers, men of Saxony, or Germans of Austria. Now is the hour to stand stiff-necked and resist to the last!"

"We National Socialists who for three years have done nothing but preach — abused and insulted by all, by some mocked and scorned, by others traduced and slandered — we cannot retreat! For us there is only one path which leads straight ahead. We know that the fight which now is blazing will be a hard struggle. It will not be fought out in the court of the Reich at Leipzig, it will not be fought out in a cabinet at Berlin, it will be fought out through those factors which in their hard reality have ever up to the present time made world-history. I heard recently in the speech of a minister that the rights of a State cannot be set aside through simple majority decisions, but only through treaties. Bismarck once used different language on this subject: he thought that the destinies of peoples could be determined neither through majority decisions nor through treaties, but only through blood and iron."

"On one point there should be no doubt: we will not let the Jews slit our gullets and not defend ourselves. Today in Berlin they may already be arranging their festival-dinners with the Jewish hangmen of Soviet Russia—that they will never do here. They may today begin to set up the Cheka — the Extraordinary Commission —in Germany, they may give it free scope, we surrender to such a Jewish Commission never! We have the conviction, firm as a rock, that, if in this State seven million men are determined to stand by their 'No' to the very last, the evil specter will collapse into nothingness in the rest of the Reich. For what Germany needs today, what Germany longs for ardently, is a symbol of power, and strength."

"So as I come to the end of my speech I want to ask something of those among you who are young. And for that there is a very special reason. The old parties train their youth in the gift of the gab, we prefer to train them to use their bodily strength. For I tell you: the young man who does not find his way to the place where in the last resort the destiny of his people is most truly represented, only studies philosophy and in a time like this buries himself behind his books or sits at home by the fire, he is no German youth! I call upon you! Join our Storm-Divisions! And however many insults and slanders you may hear if you do join, you all know that the Storm-Divisions have been formed for our protection, for your protection, and at the same time not merely for the protection of the Movement, but for the protection of a Germany that is to be. If you are reviled and insulted, good luck to you, my boys! You have the good fortune already at Is or I9 years of age to be hated by the greatest of scoundrels. What others can win only after a lifetime of toil, this highest gift of distinguishing between the honest man and the brigand, falls as a piece of luck into your lap while you are but youths. You can be assured that the more they revile you, the more we respect you. We know that if you were not there, none of us would make another speech. We know, we see clearly that our Movement would be cudgeled down if you did not protect it! You are the defense of a Movement that is called one day to remodel Germany in revolutionary fashion from its very foundations in order that there may come to birth what perhaps so many expected on the 8th of November: a German Reich and a Germanic and, so far as in us lies, a German Republic."

"Every battle must be fought to the end—better that

it come early than late. And he ever stands most securely who from the first goes to the fight with the greatest confidence. And this highest confidence we can carry with us in our hearts. For he who on our side is today the leader of the German people, God's truth! he has nothing to win but perhaps only everything to lose. He who today fights on our side cannot win great laurels, far less can he win great material goods—it is more likely that he will end up in jail. He who today is leader must be an idealist, if only for the reason that he leads those against whom it would seem that everything has conspired."

"But in that very fact there lies an inexhaustible source of strength. The conviction that our Movement is not sustained by money or the lust for gold, but only by our love for the people, that must ever give us fresh heart, that must ever fill us with courage for the fray."

"And as my last word, take with you this assurance: if this battle should not come, never would Germany win peace. Germany would decay and at the best would sink to ruin like a rotting corpse. But that is not our destiny. We do not believe that this misfortune which today our God sends over Germany has no meaning:! it is surely the scourge which should and shall drive us to a new greatness, to a new power and glory, to a Germany which for the first time shall fulfill that which in their hearts millions of the best of our fellow-countrymen have hoped for through the centuries and the millennia, to the Germany of the German people!

On 18 September It Hitler spoke on "The Stock Exchange Revolution of 1918". At the close of the speech he formulated certain fundamental demands of the Movement. A few sentences may be translated from this speech:

"Economics is a secondary matter. World-history teaches us that no people became great through economics: it was economics that brought them to their ruin. A people died when its race was disintegrated. Germany, too, did not become great through economics."

"A people that in its own life *(völkisch)* has lost honor becomes politically defenseless, and then becomes enslaved also in the economic sphere."

"Internationalization today means only Judaization. We in Germany have come to this: that a sixty-million people sees its destiny to lie at the will of a few dozen Jewish bankers. This was possible only because our civilization had first been Judaized. The undermining of the German conception of personality by catchwords had begun long before. Ideas such as 'Democracy', 'Majority', 'Conscience of the World', 'World-solidarity', 'World-peace', 'Internationality of Art', etc., disintegrate our race-consciousness, breed cowardice, and so today we are bound to say that the simple Turk is more man than we are."

"No salvation is possible until the bearer of disunion, the Jew, has been rendered powerless to harm."

After the occupation of the Ruhr by the French Hitler delivered eight speeches in rapid succession in Munich.

He began a speech on 10 April 1923 with the words: - "In the Bible we find the text, 'That which is neither hot nor cold will I spew out of my mouth'., This utterance of the great Nazarene has kept its profound validity until the present day. He who would pursue the golden mean must surrender the hope of achieving the great and the greatest aims. Until the present day the half-hearted *(das Halbe)* and the lukewarm have remained the curse of Germany."

"To the half-heartedness and weakness of the parties in Parliament was added the half-heartedness of Governments.... Everything stood under the sign of half-heartedness and lukewarmness, even the fight for existence in the World War and still more the conclusion of peace. And now the continuation of the half-hearted policy of those days holds the field. The people, inwardly united in the hard struggle—in the trenches there were neither parties nor Confessions — has been torn asunder through the economics of profiteers and knaves. Appeasement and the settlement of differences would certainly soon be there if only one were to hang the whole crew. But profiteers and knaves are, of course, 'Citizens of the State', and what is more important still, they are adherents of the religion which is hallowed by the Talmud."

"Even today," he continued, "we are the least loved people on earth. A world of foes is ranged against us and the German must still today make up his mind whether he intends to be a free soldier or a white slave. The only possible conditions under which a German State can develop at all must therefore be: the unification of all Germans in Europe, education towards a national consciousness, and readiness to place the whole national strength without exception in the service of the nation." . . .

"No economic policy is possible without a sword, no industrialization without power. Today we have no longer any sword grasped in our fist — how can we have a successful economic policy? England has fully recognized this primary maxim in the healthy life of States; for centuries England has acted on the principle of converting economic strength into political power, while conversely political power in its turn must protect economic life. The instinct of self-preservation can build up economics, but we sought to preserve World-Peace instead of the interests of the nation, instead of defending the economic life of the nation with the sword and of ruthlessly championing those conditions which were essential for the life of the people."

"Three years ago I declared in this same room that the collapse of the German national consciousness must carry with it into the abyss the economic life of Germany as well. For liberation something more is necessary than an economic policy, something more than industry: if a people is to become free it needs pride and will-power, defiance, hate, hate, and once again hate." . . .

"The spirit comes not down from above, that spirit which is to purify Germany, which with its iron besom is to purify the great sty of democracy. To do that is the task of our Movement. The Movement must not rust away in Parliament, it must not spend itself in superfluous battles of words, but the banner with the white circle and the black swastika will be hoisted over the whole of Germany on the day which shall mark the liberation of our whole people."

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

In his speech delivered in Munich on 15 April 1923 Hitler said:

"In our view the times when there was no 'League of Nations' were far more honorable and more humane.

. . . We ask: Must there be wars? The pacifist answers 'No!' He proceeds to explain that disputes in the life of peoples are only the expression of the fact that a class has been oppressed by the ruling *bourgeoisie.* When there are in fact differences of opinion between peoples, then these should be brought before a 'Peace-Court' *(Friedensgericht)* for its decision. But he does not answer the question whether the judges of this court of arbitration would have the power to bring the parties before the bar of the court. I believe that an accused ordinarily only appears 'voluntarily' before a court because, if he did not, he would be fetched there. I should like to see the nation which in the case of a disagreement would allow itself to be brought before this League of Nations Court without external force. In the life of nations, what in the last resort decides questions is a kind of Judgment Court of God. It may even happen that in case of a dispute between two peoples — both may be in the right. Thus Austria, a people of fifty millions, had most certainly the right to an outlet to the sea. But since in the strip of territory in question the Italian element of the population was in the majority, Italy claimed for herself the 'right of self-determination'. Who yields voluntarily? No one! So the strength which each people possesses decides the day. Always before God and the world the stronger has the right to carry through what he wills. History proves: He who has not the strength — him the 'right in itself' profits not a whit. A world-court without a world-police would be a joke. And from what nations of the present League of Nations would then this force be recruited? Perhaps from the ranks of the old German army? The whole world of Nature is a mighty struggle between strength and weakness — an eternal victory of the strong over the weak. There would be nothing but decay in the whole of Nature if this were not so. States which should offend against the elementary law would fall into decay. You need not seek for long to find an example of such mortal decay: you can see it in the Reich of today."

In his speech delivered in Munich on 13 April 1923 Hitler explained the part which the Jew had played in molding the policies of the European States: the good relations between Germany and Russia were destroyed because the Jew wanted Germany to overthrow the Czarist regime in Russia in order to put an end to the limitations *(Beschränkungen)* imposed upon the activity of the Jews in Russia; "limitations" not "persecutions": there have been no persecutions of the Jews for 200 years, only a continuous persecution of the Christians. The Jew thus exploited

the differences between Austria and Russia, between Austria and Italy, "in order with mathematical certainty to bring on the War". Germany was led with sentimental phrases to support Austria — a fatal policy, for thus "instead of breaking up the impossible construction, Austria, which was utterly lacking in the spirit of internal unity and in the determination to maintain itself as a State, instead of joining German-Austria to itself, and letting the remainder of Austria go, Germany was driven to follow the destiny of this lost member.

Between (Germany and France there were fundamental differences: "before the War the two States had to live side by side but only under arms. It is true that the War of 1870-I meant for Germany the close of an enmity which had endured for centuries, but in France a passionate hatred against Germany was fostered by every means — by propaganda in the Press, in school text-books, in theaters, in the cinemas." . . . All the Jewish papers throughout France agitated against Berlin. "Here again to seek and to exploit grounds for a conflict is the clearly recognizable effort of world-Jewry."

"The conflict of interests between Germany and England lay in the economic sphere. Up till 1850 England's position as a World-Power was undisputed. British engineers, British trade conquer the world. Germany, owing to greater industry and increased capacity, begins to be a dangerous rival. In a short time those firms which in Germany were in English hands pass into the possession of German industrialists. German industry expands vastly and the products of that industry even in the London market drive out British goods. The protective measure, the stamp 'Made in Germany', has the opposite effect from that desired: this 'protective stamp' becomes a highly effective advertisement. The German economic success was not created in Essen alone but by a man who knew that behind economics must stand power, for power alone makes an economic position secure. This power was born upon the battle-fields of 1870-1, not in the atmosphere of parliamentary chatter. Forty thousand dead have rendered possible the life of forty millions. When England, in the face of such a Germany as this, bid fair to be brought to her knees, then she bethought herself of the last weapon in the armory of international rivalry — violence. A Press propaganda on an imposing scale was started as a preparatory measure. But who is the chief of the whole British Press concerned with world-trade? One name crystallizes itself out of the rest: Northcliffe — a Jew! Every week he sends out into the world thirty million newspapers. And 99 per cent of the Press of England is in Jewish hands. 'Every new-born German child costs the life of a Briton!' — 'There is no Briton who would not profit from the overthrow of Germany!' So with the most despicable catch-phrases the appeal is made to man's lowest instincts. A campaign of provocation is carried on with assertions, libels, and promises such as only a Jew can devise, such as only Jewish newspapers would have the effrontery to put before an Aryan people. And then at last 1914: they egg people on: 'Ah, poor violated Belgium! Up! To the rescue of the small nations — for the honor of humanity!' The same lies, the same provocation throughout the entire world! And the success of that provocation the German people can trace grievously enough!"

"What cause finally had America to enter the War against Germany? With the outbreak of the World War, which Judah had desired so passionately and so long, all the large Jewish firms of the United States began supplying ammunitions. They supplied the European 'war-market' to an extent which perhaps even they themselves had never dreamed of — a gigantic harvest! Yet nothing satisfied the insatiable greed of the Jew. And so the venal Press which depended upon the Stock Exchange kings began an unparalleled propaganda campaign. A gigantic organization for newspaper lying was built up. And once more it is a Jewish concern, the Hearst Press, which set the tone of the agitation against Germany. The hatred of these 'Americans' was not directed solely against commercial Germany or against military Germany. It was directed specially against social Germany, because this Germany had up to that time kept itself outside of the principles which governed the world-trusts. The old Reich had at least made an honorable attempt to be socially minded *(sozial).* We had to show for ourselves such an initiative in social institutions as no other country in the wide world could boast. In the building of houses and of factories attention was generally paid to hygiene, to places for washing, to light and air — in contrast with the November-Republic whose 'Housing-Offices' crowd people together in dog-kennels. Formerly the suburban tramways took the worker out into garden-cities for 10 pfennigs — those garden-cities which under the 'care' of the November Republic he must either give up or allow to go to rack and ruin, because either the tramways are completely out of action or the fares are exorbitant. The old Reich built schools, hospitals, and scientific institutes which aroused the wonder and envy of the whole world. In the November-Republic such homes of culture as these are daily being destroyed. That the old Reich was in this sense 'social', that it did not allow itself to regard its people merely as numbers — this it was which constituted its greatest danger to the supporters of the World Stock Exchange. This explains why, even in Germany itself, the 'comrades' under Jewish leadership fought against their own vital interests. This explains the agitation carried on throughout the world under the same watchword. For this reason the Jewish-democratic Press of

America had to accomplish its masterpiece — that is to say, it had to drive into the most horrible of all wars a great peace-loving people which was as little concerned in European struggles as it was in the North Pole: America was to intervene 'in defense of civilization', and the Americans were persuaded so to do by an atrocity propaganda conducted in the name of civilization which from A to Z was a scandalous invention the like of which has never yet been seen—a farrago of lies and forgeries. Because this last State in the world where social aims were being realized had to be destroyed, therefore twenty-six peoples were incited one against the other by this Press which is exclusively in the possession of one and the same world-people, of one and the same race, and that race on principle the deadly foe of all national States."

Who could have prevented the World War? Not the *Kultursolidarität,* the "solidarity of civilization", in whose name the Jews carried on their propaganda: not the so-called World-Pacifism — again an exclusively Jewish invention. Could the so-called "Solidarity of the Proletariat?" "All the wheels stand silent, still, If that be your strong arm's will." "The German wheel on 9 November 1918 was indeed brought to a standstill. The Social Democratic Party in its principal organ, *Vorwärts,* declared in so many words that it was not in the interest of the workers that Germany should win the War. I ask you on the contrary, you German worker, is it in your interest today that you have become a slave? That you yourself struggle and groan a thousandfold worse off than before in a servitude which permits you no prospect, no hope for the future, while your leaders without exception . . . but who after all are the leaders of the Proletariat? Jews again!"

"Could the Freemasons perhaps stop the War? — this most noble of philanthropic institutions which foretold the good fortune of the people louder than anyone and which at the same time was the principal leader in promoting the War. Who after all are the Freemasons? You have to distinguish two grades. To the lower grade in Germany belong the ordinary citizens who through the clap-trap which is served up to them can feel themselves to be 'somebodies', but the responsible authorities are those many-sided folk who can stand any climate, those 300 Rathenaus who all know each other, who guide the history of the world over the heads of Kings and Presidents, those who will undertake any office without a scruple, who know how brutally to enslave all peoples — once more the Jews!"

"Why have the Jews been against Germany? That is made quite clear today — proved by countless facts. They use the age-old tactics of the hyena — when fighters are tired out, then go for them! Then make your harvest! In war and revolutions the Jew attained the unattainable. Hundreds of thousands of escaped Orientals became modern 'Europeans'. Times of unrest produce miracles. Before 1914 how long would it have taken, for instance, in Bavaria before a Galician Jew became — Prime Minister? — Or in Russia before an anarchist from the New York Ghetto, Bronstein (Trotsky), became — Dictator? Only a few wars and revolutions — that was enough to put the Jewish people into possession of the red gold and thereby to make them masters of the world.

"Before 1914, there were two States above all, Germany and Russia, which prevented the Jew from reaching his goal — the mastery of the world. Here not everything which they already possessed in the Western democracies had fallen to the Jews. Here they were not the sole lords alike in the intellectual and economic life. Here, too, the Parliaments were not yet exclusively instruments of Jewish capital and of the will of the Jew. The German and the genuine Russian had still preserved a certain aloofness from the Jew. In both peoples there still lived the healthy instinct of scorn for the Jew, and there was a real danger that in these monarchies there might one day arise a Frederick the Great, a William I, and that democracy and a parliamentary regime might be sent to the devil. So the Jews became revolutionaries! The Republic should bring them to wealth and to power. This aim they disguised: they cried 'Down with the monarchies!' 'Enthrone the "sovereign" people!' I do not know whether today one could venture to call the German or the Russian people 'sovereign'. At least one cannot see any trace of it! What the German people can trace, however, what every day stands in the most crass form before its eyes, is debauchery, gluttony, speculation ruling unchecked, the open mockery of the Jew. The so-called German Free State *(Freistaat)* has become the free station *(Freistätte)* for the Jew, a refuge where this vermin can enrich himself without restraint."

"So Russia and Germany had to be overthrown in order that the ancient prophecy might be fulfilled. So the whole world was lashed into fury. So every lie and propaganda agency was brutally set in action against the State of the last — the German — idealists! And thus it was that Judah won the World War. Or would you wish to maintain that the French, the English, or the American "people" won the War? They, one and all, victors and vanquished are alike defeated: one thing raises itself above them all: the World Stock Exchange which has become the master of the people."

"What guilt had Germany herself for the outbreak of the War? Her guilt consisted in this: that at the moment when the ring closed about her existence Germany neglected to organize her defense with such vigor that through this demonstration of her power either the others, despite their abominable purposes, would have been robbed of their will to strike or else the victory of the Reich would have been assured. The guilt of the German people lies in this: that when in 1912 a criminal Reichstag in its unfathomable baseness and folly had refused to allow the raising of three army corps the people did not create for itself those army corps in the Reichstag's despite. With these additional 120,000 men the Battle of the Marne would have been won and the issue of the War decided. Two million fewer German heroes would have sunk into their graves. Who was it who in 1912 as in 1918 struck its weapons from the hands of the German people? Who was it that in 1912, as in the last year of the War, infatuated the German people with his theory that if Germany throws down her arms the whole world will follow her example — who? — the democratic-Marxist Jew who at the same hour incited and still today incites the others to—arm and to subjugate 'barbarous' Germany."

"But someone may perhaps yet raise the question whether it is expedient today to talk about the guilt for the War. Most assuredly we have the duty to talk about it! For the murderers of our Fatherland who all the years through have betrayed and sold Germany, they are the same men who, as the November criminals, have plunged us into the depths of misfortune. We have the duty to speak since in the near future, when we have gained power, we shall have the further duty of taking these creators of ruin, these clouts, these traitors to their State and of hanging them on the gallows to which they belong. Only let no one think that in them there has come a change of heart. On the contrary, these November scoundrels who still are free to go as they will in our midst, they are, even today, going against us. From the recognition of the facts comes the will to rise again. Two millions have remained on the field of battle. They, too, have their rights and not we, the survivors, alone. There are millions of orphans, of cripples, of widows in our midst. They, too, have rights. For the Germany of today not one of them died, not one of them became a cripple, an orphan, or a widow. We owe it to these millions that we build a new Germany!"

WAR GUILT

In a speech delivered at Munich on 13 April, 1923 Hitler said:

"In the winter of the year 1919-20 we National Socialists publicly for the first time put to the German people the question, whose is the guilt for the War? . . . And we received pat from all sides the stereotyped answer of despicable self-humiliation: 'We confess it: the guilt for the War is ours!' . . . Yes, the whole Revolution was made artificially on the basis of this truly monstrous lie. For if it had not been possible to bring this lie into the field as a propaganda formula against the old Reich, what sense could one give at all to the November treason? They needed this slander of the existing system in order to justify before the people their own deed of shame. The masses, under the influence of a criminal incitement, were prepared without any hesitation to believe whatever the men of the new Government told them."!

In his speech delivered in Munich on I7 April I913 Hitler discussed "The Peace Treaty of Versailles as the perpetual curse of the November-Republic." Who, he asked, were the real rulers of Germany in 1914 to whom war guilt might be attributed: not the Kaiser, not the Pan-Germans, but Messrs. Ballin, Bleichröder, Mendelssohn, etc., a whole brood of Hebrews who formed the unofficial Government. And in 1914 the real ruler of the Reich was Herr Bethmann-Hollweg, "a descendant of a Jewish family of Frankfurt — the genuine article and in his every act the Yiddish philosopher all over. Those were the leaders of the State, not the Pan-Germans." *Hitler then considered the mistakes of Germany in the Great War:* even on 3 August 1914 it was thought that England would remain neutral, and what enormous damage Germany suffered from that mistake! Ludendorff already in 1912 had pointed out "Italy was of no value at all as an ally". "The third failure of judgment was in the estimate of Austria-Hungary. Austria was valued as a military factor, but it was forgotten that the military strength of a State is dependent on its power of political resistance. It was not seen that this conglomeration of peoples must fall apart as soon as the pressure of compulsion failed. Then there was the illusion about Russia: it was said that Russia was a corrupt State and was in no position to wage a war. With such nurses' fairy-tales were the nations fed. Czarism was represented as a rotten but bloodthirsty institution: one blow and it would immediately collapse and — the German workman is the liberator of an enslaved humanity."

Despite all these miscalculations Germany achieved her triumphs through her internal strength — her honor and the consciousness that the world regarded her as an honorable people, above all through the possession of an army on account of which she was decried as a militarist State. "And yet this army had secured to Germany her freedom and had allowed her to do her work undisturbed. Through this military power of Germany Europe enjoyed fifty years of peace. Had France possessed this army, Europe would not have had fifty years of calm. Thus it was her honor, her strength, and her determination which enabled Germany to enter upon the hardest contest in her history." *After discussing the mistakes of German politicians during the course of the War Hitler continued:*

"With the armistice begins the humiliation of Germany. If the Republic on the day of its foundation had appealed to the country: 'Germans, stand together! Up and resist the foe! The Fatherland, the Republic expects of you that you fight to your last breath', then millions who are now the enemies of the Republic would be fanatical Republicans. Today they are the foes of the Republic not because it is a Republic but because this Republic was founded at the moment when Germany was humiliated, because it so discredited the new flag that men's eyes must turn regretfully towards the old flag."

"It was no Treaty of Peace which was signed, bud a betrayal of Peace."

"The Treaty was signed which demanded from Germany that she should perform what was for ever impossible of performance. But that was not the worst: after all that was only a question of material values. This was not the end Commissions of Control were formed! For the first time in the history of the modern world there were planted on a State agents of foreign Powers to act as hangmen, and German soldiers were set to serve the foreigner. And if one of these Commissions was 'insulted', a company of the German army *(Reichswehr)* had to defile before the French flag. We no longer feel the humiliation of such an act; but the outside world says, 'What a people of curs!' "

"So long as this Treaty stands there can be no resurrection of the German people: no social reform of any kind is possible! The Treaty was made in order to bring 20 million Germans to their deaths and to ruin the German nation. But those who made the Treaty cannot set it aside. At its foundation our Movement formulated three demands:

1. Setting aside of the Peace Treaty.

2. Unification of all Germans.

3. Land and soil *(Grund und Boden)* to feed our nation. Our Movement could formulate these demands, since it was not our Movement which caused the War, it has not made the Republic, it did not sign the Peace-Treaty."

"There is thus one thing which is the first task of this Movement: it desires to make the German once more National, that his Fatherland shall stand for him above everything else. It desires to teach our people to understand afresh the truth of the old saying: He who will not be a hammer must be an anvil. An anvil are we today, and that anvil will be beaten until out of the anvil we fashion once more a hammer, a German sword!'"

On 20 April 1923 Hitler spoke on "Politics and Race: why are we Anti-Semites?" He repeated his criticism of the Treaty: "it is", *he said,* "intolerable: if its economic terms are fulfilled, it necessarily means our political enslavement: if its political terms are fulfilled, that will lead to economic enslavement. Therefore to set aside this Treaty is a necessity, it is the condition which must be fulfilled before any later revival is in any way possible.

During the last four years there had been many prescriptions offered: Economic Reconstruction *(Aufbau):* this is impossible: any recovery in German economic conditions will mean only further extortions from foreign Powers. — "The (Berman people must learn to think politically." But there is no sign of any improvement in the political thought of the nation. The Revolution was made by only a fraction of the population. The great mass of the people wanted peace, but they did not want a pigsty. The Revolution neither could nor would bring peace. While as for the parties of the Left — "their 'political thought' consisted in putting their hopes in others and ceasing to rely on their own strength. Don't they still today curse the man who says that Germany will be free only when she makes herself free, that is, bursts her fetters and does not wait for someone else to take them off? Is that the way our people is thinking today? No, anyone who dares to say the truth is torn down." . . . "And the masses are suffering from another illusion in their 'political thinking': they have the idea that anyone can govern: any cobbler or tailor is fitted to guide a State. And then people think that through sullying and disparaging one's own Ego, one's own people, the

sympathies of others can be aroused." . . .

"The Proletariat of today is Pacifist in foreign policy and at home Terrorist: the *Bourgeois* on the contrary would like to be a Terrorist in foreign policy and is at home a Pacifist. From the man who is on principle a Pacifist in the domestic sphere less is to be expected than from the opposite view. They all only say, 'One must' . . . but the determination to act, really to do something—that is lacking.... The 'political thought' of the people is perhaps worse than it was four and a half years ago. The nation, whether on the Left or on the Right—has not yet learnt to think politically."

"And then comes the third great prescription: Moral Renewal: the wish is expressed that our people should become once more religious, homely, simple. But what we actually see is that the people is going the same way as did the peoples of the ancient world: step by step the people is passing over into corruption. During the last four and a half years it has grown worse not better."

The German people was once clear thinking and simple: why has it lost these characteristics? Any inner renewal is possible only if one realizes that this is a question of race: America forbids the yellow peoples to settle there, but this is a lesser peril than that which stretches out its hand over the entire world — the Jewish peril. "Many hold that the Jews are not a race, but is there a second people anywhere in the wide world which is so determined to maintain its race ?"

"As a matter of fact the Jew can never become a German however often he may affirm that he can. If he wished to become a German, he must surrender the Jew in him. And that is not possible: he cannot, however much he try, become a German at heart, and that for several reasons: first because of his blood, second because of his character, thirdly because of his will, and fourthly because of his actions. His actions remain Jewish: he works for the 'greater idea' of the Jewish people. Because that is so, because it cannot be otherwise, therefore the bare existence of the Jew as part of another State rests upon a monstrous lie. It is a lie when he pretends to the peoples to be a German, a Frenchman, etc."

"What then are the specifically Jewish aims ?"

"To spread their invisible State as a supreme tyranny over all other States in the whole world. The Jew is therefore a disintegrator of peoples. To realize his rule over the peoples he must work in two directions: in economics he dominates peoples when he subjugates them politically and morally: in politics he dominates them through the propagation of the principles of democracy and the doctrines of Marxism—the creed which makes a Proletarian a Terrorist in the domestic sphere and a Pacifist in foreign policy. Ethically the Jew destroys the peoples both in religion and in morals. He who wishes to see that can see it, and him who refuses to see it no one can help."

"The Jew, whether consciously or unconsciously, whether he wishes it or not, undermines the platform on which alone a nation can stand."

"We are now met by the question: Do we wish to restore Germany to freedom and power? If 'yes': then the first thing to do is to rescue it from him who is ruining our country. Admittedly it is a hard fight that must be fought here. We National Socialists on this point occupy an extreme position: but we know only one people: it is for that people we fight and that is our own people.... We want to stir up a storm. Men must not sleep: they ought to know that a thunder-storm is coming up. We want to prevent our Germany from suffering, as Another did, the death upon the Cross."

"We may be inhumane, but if we rescue Germany we have achieved the greatest deed in the world! We may work injustice, but if we rescue Germany then we have removed the greatest injustice in the world. We may be immoral, but if our people is rescued we have once more opened up the way for morality!"

In a speech on "Race and Economics: the German Workman in the National Socialist State", delivered on 24 *April* 1923 *Hitler said:*

"I reject the word 'Proletariat'. The Jew who coined the word meant by 'Proletariat', not the oppressed, but those who work with their hands. And those who work with their intellects are stigmatized bluntly as 'Bourgeois'. It is not

the character of a man's life which forms the basis of this classification, it is simply the occupation — whether a man works with his brain or with his body. And in this turbulent mass of the handworkers the Jew recognized a new power which might perhaps be his instrument for the gaining of that which Is his ultimate goal: World-supremacy, the destruction of the national States."

"And while the Jew 'organizes' these masses, he organizes business *(Wirtschaft),* too, at the same time. Business was depersonalized, i.e. Judaized. Business lost the Aryan character of work: it became an object of speculation. Master and man *(Unternehmer und Arbeiter)* were torn asunder . . . and he who created this class division was the same person who led the masses in their opposition to this class-division, led them not against his Jewish brethren, but against the last remnants of independent national economic life *(Wirtschaft)."*

"And these remnants, the *bourgeoisie* which also was already Judaized, resisted the great masses who were knocking at the door and demanding better conditions of life. And so the Jewish leaders succeeded in hammering into the minds of the masses the Marxist propaganda: 'Your deadly foe is the *bourgeois,* if he were not there, you would be free.' If it had not been for the boundless blindness and stupidity of our *bourgeoisie* the Jew would never have become the leader of the German working-classes. And the ally of this stupidity was the pride of the 'better stratum' of society which thought it would degrade itself if it condescended to stoop to the level of the 'Plebe'. The millions of our German fellow-countrymen would never have been alienated from their people if the leading strata of society had shown any care for their welfare."

"You must say farewell to the hope that you can expect any action from the parties of the Right on behalf of the freedom of the German people. The most elementary factor is lacking: the will, the courage, the energy. Where then can any strength still be found within the German people? It is to be found, as always, in the great masses: there energy is slumbering and it only awaits the man who will summon it from its present slumber and will hurl it into the great battle for the destiny of the German race."

"The battle which alone can liberate Germany will be fought out with the forces which well up from the great masses. Without the help of the German working-man you will never regain a German Reich. Not in our political salons lies the strength of the nation, but in the hand, in the brainy and in the will of the great masses. Now as ever: Liberation does not come down from above, it will spring up from below.... If we today make the highest demands upon everyone, that is only in order that we may give back to him and to his child the highest gift: Freedom and the respect of the rest of the world." . . .

Both those of the Right and those of the Left "must learn that, in the community of the people, only he has a right to live who is prepared to work for the community of the people. Only when everyone takes upon himself his honest share of the duties which he owes to his people will some day once again a single bond of unity embrace all alike."

"They must re-learn mutual respect: the worker with the brain and the worker with the hand. Neither can exist without the other. They both belong together, and from them both there must be crystallized a new man — the man of the German Reich which is to be."

THE PARTIES OF THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT

In the same speech Hitler said:

"With prudent foresight the political debt of Germany is now being turned into a purely economic debt. For, if real men were one day to come to power who were not mere weaklings, then the former could be wiped out, but the economic, the mercantile debt, that we can never meet. For that debt we pledge the property of our people, and thus a new gigantic treachery will be wrought upon the German people; the nation will be sold afresh and bargained away."

"The last remnant of the property of the people is squandered. What will happen when the last remnant has vanished? Then things will come to such a pass that we shall be a people working for alien masters. Germany will be a plantation worked at the will of the alien, the victim of alien cupidity, with a Government which has ceased to be a Government at all since it governs no longer; it is but a bailiff carrying out the orders of foreign Powers."

The parties of the Right have lost all energy: they see the flood coming, but their one longing is just for once in their lives to form a Government. "Unspeakably incapable, utterly lacking in energy, cowards all — such are all these *bourgeois* parties and that at the moment when the nation needs heroes — not chatterers."

In the Left there is somewhat more energy, but it is used for the ruin of Germany. "The Communists on principle reject the discipline imposed by the State: in its stead they preach party-discipline: they reject the administration of the State as a bureaucracy, while they fall on their knees before the bureaucracy of their own Movement. There is arising a State within the State which stands in deadly enmity against the State which we know, the State of the community of the people. This new State ultimately produces men who reject with fanaticism their own people so that in the end foreign Powers find in them their allies. Such is the result of Marxist teaching."!

THE PARTY AND ECONOMICS

In the same speech Hitler said:

"What we want is not a State of drones but a State which gives to everyone that to which on the basis of his own activity he has a right. He who refuses to do honest work shall not be a citizen of the State. The State is not a plantation where the interests of foreign capital are supreme. Capital is not the master of the State, but its servant. Therefore the State must not be brought into dependence on international loan capital. And if anyone believes that that cannot be avoided, then do not let him be surprised that no one is ready to give his life for this State. Further, that greatest injustice must be corrected which today still weighs heavily upon our people and upon almost all peoples. If in a State only he who does honest work is a citizen, then everyone has the right to demand that in his old age he shall be kept free from care and want. That would mean the realization of the greatest social achievement."

In his speech (delivered on 27 April 1923) on "The Paradise of the Jew or the State of the German People (deutscher Volksstuat)", Hitler stated the Demands of the National Socialists; he said:

"What we need if we are to have a real People's State is a land reform . . .we do not believe that the mere dividing up of the land can by itself bring any alleviation. The conditions of a nation's life can in the last resort be bettered only through the political will to expansion. Therein lies the essential characteristic of a sound reform."

"And land *(Grund und Boden),* we must insist, cannot be made an object for speculation. Private property can be only that which a man has gained for himself, has won through his work. A natural product is not private property, that is national property. Land is thus no object for bargainings

"Further, there must be a reform in our law. Our present law regards only the rights of the individual. It does not regard the protection of the race, the protection of the community of the people. It permits the befouling of the nation's honor and of the greatness of the nation. A law which is so far removed from the conception of the community of the people is in need of reform."

"Further, changes are needed in our system of education. We suffer today from an excess of culture *(Uberbildung).* Only knowledge is valued. But wiseacres are the enemies of action. What we need is instinct and will. Most people have lost both through their 'culture'. We have, it is true, a highly intellectual class *(Schicht),* but it is lacking in energy. If, through our overvaluation of mechanical knowledge, we had not so far removed ourselves from popular sentiment, the Jew would never have found his way to our people so easily as he has done. What we need is the possibility of a continuous succession of intellectual leaders drawn from the people itself."

"Clear away the Jews! Our own people has genius enough — we need no Hebrews. If we were to put in their place intelligences drawn from the great body of our people, then we should have recovered the bridge which leads to the community of the people."

"Again, we need a reform of the German Press.

"A Press which is on principle anti-national cannot be tolerated in Germany. Whoever denies the nation can have no part in it. We must demand that the Press shall become the instrument of the national self-education."

"Finally we need a reform in the sphere of art, literature, and the theater. The Government must see to it that its people is not poisoned. There is a higher right which is based on the recognition of that which harms a people, and that which harms a people must be done away with."

"And after this reform we shall come to recognize the duty of self-preservation. A man who says: 'I deny that I have a right to defend my personal life' has thereby denied his right to exist. To be a Pacifist argues a lack of conviction, a lack of character. For the Pacifist is indeed ready enough to claim the help of others, but himself declines to defend himself. It is precisely the same with a people. A people which is not prepared to protect itself is a people without character. We must recover for our people as one of its most elementary principles the recognition of the fact that a man is truly man only if he defends and protects himself, that a people deserves that name only if in case of necessity it is prepared as a people to enter the lists.

"Therefore we National Socialists stand for compulsory military service for every man. If a State is not worth that — then away with it! Then you must not complain if you are enslaved. But if you believe that you must be free, then you must learn to recognize that no one gives you freedom save only your own sword. What our people needs is not leaders in Parliament, but those who are determined to carry through what they see to be right before God, before the world, and before their own consciences—and to carry that through, if need be, in the teeth of majorities. And if we succeed in raising such leaders from the body of our people, then around them once again a nation will crystallize itself . . . It is the pride of our Movement to be the force which shall awake the Germany of fighters which yet shall be.

On 1 May 1923 Hitler spoke on "The Great German May Celebration"; this speech is of interest as foreshadowing the annual May-Day Festival in the National Socialist Reich. He said:

"If the 1st of May is to be transferred in accordance with its true meaning from the life of Nature to the life of peoples, then it must symbolize the renewal of the body of a people which has fallen into senility. And in the life of peoples senility means internationalism. What is born of senility? Nothing, nothing at all. Whatever in human civilization has real value, that arose not out of internationalism; it sprang from the soul of a single people. When peoples have lost their creative vigor, then they become international. Everywhere, wherever intellectual incapacity rules in the life of peoples, there internationalism appears. And it is no chance that the promoter of this cast of thought is a people which itself can boast of no real creative force — the Jewish people. It is the people with the least individual artistic capacity of any. It dominates only the sphere of crafty and speculative economics. The Jew as a race has eminent powers of self-preservation, but as an individual he possesses no cultural gifts. He is the demon of the disintegration of peoples, he is the symbol of the unceasing destruction of their life."

"So the 1st of May can be only a glorification of the national creative will over against the conception of international disintegration, of the liberation of the nation's spirit and of its economic outlook from the infection of internationalism. That is in the last resort the question of the restoration to health of peoples . . . and the question arises: Is the German oak ever destined to see another spring-time ? And that is where the mission of our Movement begins. We have the strength to conquer that which the autumn has brought upon us. Our will is to be National Socialists — not National in the current sense of the word — not National by halves. We are National Socialist fanatics, not dancers on the tight-rope of moderation!"

"There are three words which many use without a thought which far us are no catch-phrases: Love, Faith, and Hope. We National Socialists wish to love our Fatherland, we wish to learn to love it, to learn to love it jealously, to love it alone and to suffer no other idol to stand by its side. We know only one interest and that is the interest of our people."

"We are fanatical in our love for our people, and we are anxious that so-called 'national Governments' should be conscious of that fact. We can go as loyally as a dog with those who share our sincerity, but we will pursue with fanatical hatred the man who believes that he can play tricks with this love of ours. We cannot go with Governments who look two ways at once, who squint both towards the Right and towards the Left. We are straightforward: it must be either love or hate."

"We have faith in the rights *(Recht)* of our people, the rights which have existed time out of mind. We protest against the view that every other nation should have rights — and we have none. We must learn to make our own this blind faith in the rights of our people, in the necessity of devoting ourselves to the service of these rights; we must make our own the faith that gradually victory must be granted us if only we are fanatical enough. And from this love and from this faith there emerges for us the idea of hope. When others doubt and hesitate for the future of Germany — we have no doubts. We have both the hope and the faith that Germany will and must once more become great and mighty."

"We have both the hope and the faith that the day will come on which Germany shall stretch from Königsberg to Strassburg, and from Hamburg to Vienna."

"We have faith that one day Heaven will bring the Germans back into a Reich over which there shall be no Soviet star, no Jewish star of David, but above that Reich there shall be the symbol of German labor — the Swastika. And that will mean that the 1st of May has truly come."

FRANCE AND REARMAMENT

In his speech on 4 May 1923 *on "The Morass of Parliament or the Fight for Freedom" Hitler said:*

"The German people has to meet demands which are greater than the whole of its national wealth. These demands must therefore have a quite definite purpose which lies beyond purely economic considerations. France does not desire reparations, she desires the annihilation of Germany: it means for her the fulfillment of a very old dream — the hegemony of France over Europe."

" 'Reparations' are nothing else than a 'legal instrument' by which under the appearance of legality one can ruin a State, one can break up the internal unity of a people, and in the place of the single State can establish a conglomeration of small States, each exhausting the energies of the other."

"For this reason the Government could satisfy France only through the liquidation of the German Reich, through the dissolution of the State. To satisfy France is therefore not an economic question, it is a political question"....

"And that fact determines the lines on which alone the reconstruction of Germany is possible. First of all the question of the self-defense of the nation must be solved: and that is primarily not a technical question: it is a question of the spirit, of the will. And it will not be solved until the German people understands that one can conduct politics only when one has the support of power — and again power. Only so is reconstruction possible. So long as our people and our Government fail to understand that, so long is any talk of reconstruction nothing but idle chatter.... The main task of the nation is twofold: there must first be the armament of the spirit, and — after that — the technical problem of material armament. The armament of the spirit is the nation's will, which must be educated to self-defense, to the championship and to the realization of its own rights. How can that will be strengthened? By breaking down that which opposes the people's will. The question is thus: National, or on the other side Anti-National or International. The great question of the solution of the problem National or International is the condition for solving the problem of the nation's armament of the spirit."

"And the further question of the technical transformation of this will into material armaments, the exploitation of this will — that is an easy matter.... If sixty million men had only one will — to be fanatically Nationalist in their outlook — the arms would spring out of men's fists. France would never venture then to treat Germany as she does today." . . .

"It is not an economic question which now faces the German people: it is a political question: how shall the nation's resolution be recovered ?"

"If today in Germany one and a half millions could be united on a single platform, all prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice themselves for their Fatherland, then Germany would be saved."

"But today the German parliamentary system spells the destruction and the end of the German nation. It cannot recognize the creative force of personality.... If today a Fridericus Rex were to appear, presumably they would pass

a special law—an *Ausnahmegesetz* — against him! . . . Even the republics of the ancient world, when men's loyalty to the State was hard as steel, in times of distress resorted to a dictatorship. When the life of peoples is at hazard then popular representative bodies, whether Parliaments or Landtags, are of no avail — then only giants can save the situation.... Nothing can stay the development; the German parliamentary system is digging its own grave. At the most our part will only be to bury it." . . .

"But in the end the fire of German youth will conquer: Youth will have to support the State which it creates for itself.... What can save Germany is the dictatorship of the national will and of the national resolution."

"And if it be asked: 'Is there a fitting personality to act as leader?' — it is not our task to look for such a person. He is either given by Heaven or he is not given. Our task is to fashion the sword for his use when he appears. Our task is to give to the dictator when he comes a people that is ripe for him. German people, awake! It draws near to day!"

The speeches of the period of the occupation of the Ruhr by the French, which were delivered on I August, 21 August, 5 September, and 12 September 1923, are more violent than ever and many passages were suppressed (after the confiscation of the first edition of the speeches) in the edition of 1925: they reappear in the edition of 1933. It is not necessary now to translate these abusive tirades against Cuno and Stresemann, and the speeches do not add much of present interest to those of the spring. I have therefore attempted a version of only a few passages.

It was the height of the inflation period and of the manufacture of paper money: "Germany is a people of children; a grown-up people would say: 'We don't care a fig for your paper-money. Give us something of value — gold!

What have you after all to give us? Nothing? Thus have you defrauded us, you rogues and swindlers!' An awakened people with its last thirty marks — all that is left of the millions of its glory — would buy a rope and with it string up 10,000 of its defrauders!" Even the farmer will no longer sell his produce. "When you offer him your million scraps of paper with which he can cover the walls of his closet on his dung-heap, can you wonder that he says, 'Keep your millions and I will keep my corn and my butter'." "The individual and the nation are delivered over to the international capital of the banks; despair seizes the whole people. We are on the eve of a second revolution. Some are setting their hopes on the star of the Soviet: that is the symbol of those who began the Revolution, to whom the Revolution has brought untold wealth, who have exploited it until today. It is the star of David, the sign of the Synagogue. The symbol of the race high over the world, of a lordship which stretches from Vladivostok to the West — the lordship of Jewry. The golden star which for the Jew means the glittering gold."

"And when the people in its horror sees that one can starve though one may have milliards of marks, then it will perforce make up its mind and say: 'We will bow down no longer before an institution which is founded on the delusory majority principle, we want a dictatorship.' Already the Jew has a premonition of things to come: . . . he is saying to himself: If there must be a dictatorship, then it shall be a dictatorship of Cohen or Levi."

"We stand at the beginning of the second revolution in Germany. Just as after the Kerensky Government in Russia, so after the lemonade Ebert Revolution the real Soviet dictatorship will be set up. Do not consider that as an unimportant matter. There is many a one in Germany today, who still laughs at the Soviet Dictatorship, whose head will roll on to the sand. The human *carzaille* is the same in all lands. And the political collapse of Germany only a miraculous deed can avert. And Herr Stresemann will never work a miracle.

"That is the mission of our Movement: Swastika or Soviet star: the despotism of the International or the Holy Empire of German Nationality."

"And we have for the new Germany of the future created the foundations for its army of liberation.

"A Reichstag which for four and a half years has failed us, which twenty years ago contributed to the destruction of the Reich of Bismarck, such a Reichstag has no longer the confidence of the German people."

Today "the last decisive struggle rests between the Swastika and the Star of the Soviet.... Between them Parliament is collapsing: it must and will be crushed. The members of the Reichstag really ought one day to go out

on the steps of the Reichstag and call aloud: 'Let yourselves be shot dead on our behalf': they would have the surprise of their lives. The monarchy died when none of the twenty-six monarchs was prepared to accede to Bismarck's demand and to die fighting on the steps of the throne. The Republic of today will die at the moment when not one of these democratic Republicans, Pacifists, etc., will be prepared to fall on the steps of the Parliament-house. But the Movement which is ready for its ideal to face the last encounter — that will arise! . . . Victory cannot fail us. For our just, our necessary fight against the dictatorship of the international Stock Exchange has as its sole aim the restoration of our passionately-loved German Fatherland."

THE ROLE OF THE PARTY

In the speech delivered in Munich on 1 August 1923 Hitler said:

"There are two things which can unite men: common ideals and common criminality. We have inscribed upon our banner the great Germanic ideal and for that ideal we will fight to the last drop of our blood. We National Socialists have realized that from the international cesspool of infamy, from the Berlin of today, nothing can come to save the Fatherland. We know that two things alone will save us: first, the end of internal corruption the cleansing out of all those who owe their existence simply to the protection of their party-comrades. Through the most brutal ruthlessness towards all party officials we must restore our finances. It must be proved that the official is not a party-man, but a specialist! The body of German officials must once more become what once it was. But the second and the most important point is that the day must come when a German Government shall summon up the courage to declare to the foreign Powers: 'The Treaty of Versailles is founded on a monstrous lie. We refuse to carry out its terms any longer. Do what you will! If you wish for war, go and get it! Then we shall see whether you can turn seventy million Germans into serfs and slaves!'"

"If cowards cry out: 'But we have no arms!' That is neither here nor there! When the whole German people knows one will and one will only — to be free — in that hour we shall have the instrument with which to win our freedom. It matters not whether these weapons of ours are humane: if they gain us our freedom, they are justified before our conscience and before our God. When the eyes of German children look questioning into ours, when we see the suffering and distress of millions of our fellow-countrymen who without any fault of theirs have fallen into this frightful misfortune, then we laugh at the curses of the whole world, if from these curses there issues the freedom of our race."

"But since we know that today the German people consists for one-third of heroes, for another third of cowards, while the rest are traitors, as a condition of our freedom in respect of the outside world we would first cleanse our domestic life. The present 'United Front' has failed in that task. The day of another 'United Front' will come. But before that there must be a day of reckoning for those who for four and a half years have led us on their criminal ways. The domestic battle must come before the battle with the world without — the final decision between those who say 'We are Germans and proud of the fact' and those who do not wish to be Germans or who are not Germans at all. Our Movement is opposed with the cry 'The Republic is in danger!' Your Republic of the 8th of November? In very truth it is: the November-Republic is in danger! How long, think you, can you maintain this 'State'? . . . The hour will come when this Republic which denies German history, which has disbanded Germany's old army, which has hauled down and insulted Germany's old flag, the Republic which has become a wrestling ground for foreign interests — this Republic shall be transformed into a true German 'People's State' — to a true community of all Germans! The State will then for the first time be the German Republic, even if an Emperor or a King should stand at its head! We fight for the State that shall have at its head the greatest cleanliness, the greatest honesty, the proudest strength, the greatest energy. Then upon its external form the people shall decide: it is for the sacred content of that external form that we wage our battle today. We had too little faith and love! Rather we should have too much of faith and love: we need an excess of national fanaticism. Ours shall be no State where tolerance reigns. No, we would be intolerant against all who do not wish to be German.... You, working men, they are for ever lying to you, saying that we are the foes of understanding between peoples. That we are not. Only understanding must not consist in this — that one party gets all the knocks! Two Powers of equal strength can come to an understanding. And precisely because we are nationally minded, for that very reason we have respect for the national feeling of the other peoples. And our national pride does not mean that we scorn other peoples, it means that we respect and love our own people. It is precisely the Internationalists who prevent peoples from coming to understand one another. You are always thrusting yourselves in everywhere and intruding. Thereby you only make yourselves internationally contemptible. One does not beg for a right — one fights for it!"

"Thus our fight for the cleansing of our domestic life is also a fight for the recovery of the world's respect for the German nation. That why we have the firm, the immovable faith that victory must be ours!"

"Our Movement was not formed with any election in view, but in order to spring to the rescue of this people as its last help in the hour of greatest need, at the moment when in fear and despair it sees the approach of the Red Monster. The task of our Movement is still today not to prepare ourselves for any coming election but to prepare for the coming collapse of the Reich, so that when the old trunk falls the young fir-tree may be already standing. The *Via dolorosa (Leidensweg)* of Germany from Wirth, by way of Cuno to Stresemann, will end in the dictatorship of a Jewish lord of finance. Already Germany can trace the activity of an Austrian Jew, Hilferding, as her Minister of Finance. We want to be the supporters of the dictatorship of national reason, of national energy, of national — brutality and resolution. Germany can be saved only through action, when through our talking here the bandage has been torn from the eyes of the last of the befouled. It is from our Movement that redemption will come—that today is the feeling of millions. That has become almost a new religious faith! And there will be only two possibilities: either Berlin marches and ends up in Munich, or Munich marches and ends up in Berlin! A Bolshevist North Germany and a Nationalist Bavaria cannot exist side by side, and the greatest influence upon the fortunes of the German Reich will be his who shall restore the Reich. On us in Bavaria falls the task to be the cell whence recovery shall come to the rest of the Reich. You will never bring the Bavarian name to any higher honor than on the day when Bavaria will be associated with the liberation of the German nation from its accursed foes within the Reich and with the revival which only that liberation will render possible. Either Germany sinks, and we through our despicable cowardice sink with it, or else we dare to enter on the fight against death and devil and rise up against the fate that has been planned for us. Then we shall see which is the stronger: the spirit of international Jewry or the will of Germany."

THE REPUBLIC

In a speech delivered in Munich on 12 September I923 Hitler said:

"The Republic was founded to be a milch-cow for its founders — for the whole parliamentary gang. It was never intended to be a State for the German people, but a feeding-ground *(Weide),* as pleasant and as rich a feeding-ground as possible. There was never any thought of giving to the German people a free State: the object was to provide a mob of the lowest scoundrels with an obliging object for their exploitation. The fruit of the honest work of other folk has been stolen by those who themselves have never worked. And if *we* refuse to grasp the facts, the outside world knows better. The outside world despises the representatives of this November-Republic! Neither in society nor in the meetings of diplomats are they regarded as equals, much less as men of character. Think of Lloyd George — this man with the single fanatical idea — that England must be led to victory. There comes up to him one of the 'November men' of whom he knows: 'My people would have been defeated if your people by you had not been .' How will Lloyd George receive him? Surely with unspeakable contempt! For *he* knows what *we* can only guess how in the War the millions of gold poured into Germany, how they began to take effect, how great associations of traitors were formed through foreign gold — through *his* gold. And now he sees face to face the man to whom before he paid out the Judas-wage. What do you think Lloyd George will do? He can only spit at the sight. Never can any one of the 'November criminals' represent Germany before the world!"

The attack upon the Republic recurs throughout the speeches of this period.

The financial policy of the November criminals was hopeless: to the debts of the War they had but added new debts: "The Revolution cleanses the administration from the old so-called corrupt bureaucracy. It pensions off numberless unreliable officials, such, that is, as will not, with complete absence of character, submit themselves to the new holders of power. Thereby still more vast sums of money are thrown away. And in place of the old sterling administration there is installed a gang of folk belonging to the party chosen only for their loyalty to the party."

"The Reich is no longer the German Reich of German sentiment, it is the Reich of the Parties.... They shattered the old Empire because it no longer corresponded with their party principles."

"The Republic, by God is worthy of its fathers. For hardly was the first deed of shame committed when there followed the second — one dishonor after another! One can scarcely believe any longer that there was once a time when one could speak of the Germans as the first people in the world."

"The essential character of the November-Republic is to be seen in the comings and goings to London, to Spa, to Paris, and to Genoa. Subservience towards the enemy, surrender of the human dignity of the German, pacifist cowardice, tolerance of every indignity, readiness to agree to everything until nothing more remains. This November -Republic bore the stamp of the men who made it. The name 'November-Criminals' will cling to these folk throughout the centuries."

Or again: "How are States founded? Through the personality of brilliant leaders and through a people which deserves to have the crown of laurel bound about its brows. Compare with them the 'heroes' of this Republic! Shirkers, Deserters, and Pacifists: these are its founders and their heroic acts consisted in leaving in the lurch the soldiers at the front, in stopping reinforcements, in withholding from them munitions, while at home against old men and half-starved children they carried through a revolutionary *coup d'état.* They have quite simply got together their November-State by theft. In the face of the armies returning wearied from the front these thieves have still posed as the saviors of the Fatherland! They declared the Pacifist-Democratic Republic. On the other hand I ask: What can be the only meaning of loyalty to the State? The loyalty of heroes! This Revolution has dishonored the old heroes on whom the whore earth had looked with wonder; it allowed the scum of the streets to tear off their decorations and to hurl into the mire all that was sacred to the heroes of the front line. And how does the Republic honor now the new heroes? Schlageter? By warrants for his arrest."

"Pacifism as the idea of the State, international law instead of power — all means are good enough to unman the people. As a model they hold up to us India and what is called 'passive resistance'. True, they want to make an India of Germany, a folk of dreams which turns away its face from realities, in order that they can oppress it for all eternity, that they may span it body and soul to the yoke of slavery."

"Even if anyone still wished to defend this State, I would ask him, Who rules this State? Are you willing to sacrifice yourself for the supremacy of an alien race? No! No! . . . We see the twilight from the East rising over us. What has been completed in Russia is to be completed here, too. The one question that remains is this: Will this coming storm be Germany's death-struggle or the birth-pangs of a new and better age?"

With these passages may be quoted three others:

"In the economic sphere this Revolution has proved to be an immense misfortune. The districts which were most important for the feeding of our people were lost and districts which are the condition for the feeding of the nation have been "reasonably alienated. And what did the Revolution not prophesy for us in the political sphere? One heard of the right of Self-determination of Peoples, of the League of Nations, of self-government of the People. And what was the result? A World Peace, but a World Peace over a Germany which was but a field of corpses. Disarmament, but only the disarmament of Germany, with Germany looting its own resources. Self-determination yes, but self-determination for every Negro tribe: and Germany does not count as a Negro tribe. League of Nations, yes: but a League of Nations which serves only as the guarantor for the fulfillment of the Peace Treaty, not for a better world order which is to come. And Government by the people — for five years past no one has asked the people what it thinks of the act of November of the year 1918: at the head of the Reich there stands a President who is rejected by the overwhelming majority of the people and who has not been chosen by the people. Seventeen million Germans are in misery under foreign rule. Hardly ever in five years has so much been torn away from the German nation as in these years of the so-called successful Revolution. We have been rendered defenseless: we are without rights: we have become the pariahs of the world. What are our organs of Government today but organs for executing the will of foreign tyrants?"

"That which most clearly characterizes the Revolution is the fact that it is one single great theft! A theft against our past, a theft against our future, the theft of our present. The theft of what to many is the highest and most sacred of their possessions — their faith that the State is something more than a mere profit-making concern."

"We were given a Free State which never deserved the name of 'free'. Then they called it a 'People's State'. But think you that bankers can form a Government which befits a 'People's State'?"

"In fact the Revolution made three changes in our State: it internationalized the German State, the economic life of Germany, and the German people itself. Thereby Germany has been turned into a colony of the outside world.,

Those who were fed with the ideal of the International were in fact placed under the "Diktat" of the International. They have their international State: today international finance is king." . . .

"While the masses were still told lies about 'socialization', the economic life of Germany was in fact socialized, not by the German people, but by the outside world."

"Through the internationalization of the nation itself in the end a people ceases to be master of its own fate: it becomes the puppet of alien forces."

"Is that, now, a People's Revolution? Is such a construction a People's State? No, it is the Jews' Paradise."

ENGLAND AND FRANCE

In his closing speech at his trial after the "Putsch" of 1923 Hitler said:

"When did the ruin of Germany begin? You know the watchword of the old German system in its foreign policy: it ran — maintenance of world-peace, economic conquest of the world. With both these principles one cannot govern a people. The maintenance of world peace cannot be the purpose and aim of the policy of a State. The increase and maintenance of a people — that alone can be the aim. If you are going to conquer the world by an economic policy, other peoples will not fail to see their danger."

"What is the State? Today the State is an economic organization, an association of persons, formed, it would seem, for the sole purpose that all should co-operate in securing each other's daily bread. The State, however, is not an economic organization, it is a 'volkic' organism. The purpose, the aim of the State is to provide the people with its food-supply and with the position of power in the world which is its due. Germany occupies in Europe perhaps the most bitter situation of any people. Militarily, politically, and geographically she is surrounded by none but rivals: she can maintain herself only when she places a power-policy *(Machtpolitik)* ruthlessly in the foreground."

"Two Powers are in a position to determine the future development of Europe: England and France. England's aim remains eternally the same: to balkanize Europe and to establish a balance of power in Europe so that her position in the world will not be threatened. England is not on principle an enemy of Germany, she is the Power which seeks to gain the first place in Europe. The declared enemy of Germany is France. Just as England needs the balkanization of Europe, so France needs the balkanization of Germany in order to gain hegemony in Europe. After four and a half years of bitter struggle at last through the Revolution the scale of victory turned in favor of the coalition of these two Powers, with the following result: France was faced with the question: Was she to realize her eternal war-aim or not? That means: Could France destroy Germany and deprive it of all the sources whereby its people was fed? Today France watches the ripening to fulfillment of her age-old plan: it matters not what Government will be at the helm in France: the supreme aim will remain — the annihilation of Germany, the extermination of twenty million Germans, and the dissolution of Germany into separate States."

"Such is the situation of Germany thanks to the deplorable attitude of her Government.... We have laid our stress upon the fact that the worth of a people cannot lie in the dead weight of arms, but in the living will. If the will to self-defense is lacking, then no armament in the world is of any service. That we have impressed upon people at a time when folk were groveling on their bellies before the Entente Commissioners. We have sought to awaken love for the Fatherland and have also on the other hand sowed the seeds of hate."

Hitler ended his closing speech at his trial in 1924 with the words:

"The army which we have formed grows from day to day; from hour to hour it grows more rapidly. Even now I have the proud hope that one day the hour is coming when these untrained *(wilde)* bands will become battalions, when the battalions will become regiments and the regiments divisions, when the old cockade will be raised from the mire, when the old banners will once again wave before us: and then reconciliation will come in that eternal last Court of Judgment — the Court of God — before which we are ready to take our stand. Then from our bones, from our graves will sound the voice of that tribunal which alone has the right to sit in judgment upon us. For, gentlemen, it is not you who pronounce judgment upon us, it is the eternal Court of History which will make its pronouncement upon the charge which is brought against us. The judgment that you will pass, that I know. But that Court will not

ask of us 'Have you committed high treason or not?' That Court will judge us . . . who as Germans have wished the best for their people and their Fatherland, who wished to fight and to die. You may declare us guilty a thousand times, but the Goddess who presides over the Eternal Court of History will with a smile tear in pieces the charge of the Public Prosecutor and the judgment of the Court: for she declares us guiltless."